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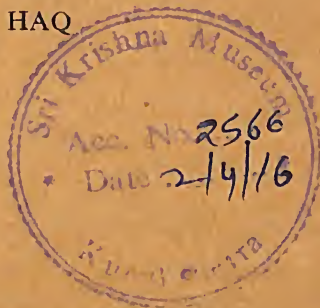
Volume VIII

Part I

JANUARY 1960

Edited by

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ



PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI COOPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI

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THE

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1871

SIRAT AL-NABI OF 'ALLAMAH SHIBLI

(English Translation)

By

FAZLUR RAHMAN

—: o :—

Our *Journal* is now entering the eighth year of its life ; we are happy to begin this volume with the first few pages of Mr. Fazlur Rahman's English translation of 'Allāmah Shiblī's famous biography of the Holy Prophet, *Sirat al-Nabi*. The first volume of the book is now complete and we propose to send it to the press in the near future. Of the importance, and utility of an English translation of this monumental work nothing need be said here. It is by far the best and most comprehensive study of the life of the Prophet in Urdu. 'Allāmah Shiblī and his distinguished pupil, Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī, who completed the unfinished work of his master after the latter's death, were undoubtedly two of the most renowned historians of Hind-Pakistan in the present century. It is a pity that this great work has not been utilized by the Western orient-alists for their studies on *Sirah*. The Society has, therefore, decided to make it available to them through an English rendering. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, President, Pakistan Historical Society, who has been studying the life of the Prophet for the last several years, has undertaken to perform this task for us. We hope to publish the first volume during this year; others will follow.

Syed Moinul Haq

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the worlds. His blessings and peace be on His Prophet Muḥammad,* on his descendants and on all his companions.

The Need of writing the Sirah of the Prophetﷺ

The foremost duty and the greatest service to humanity¹ is to reform and perfect the morals and culture of the human beings. In the first instance the fundamental and derivative principles concerning the excellences of human conduct—abstinence and piety, chastity and continence, benevolence and kindness, clemency and forgiveness, resolution and firmness, sacrifice and courtesy, modesty and contentment—should be formulated in a correct manner and then be demonstrated in practice in the whole world.

The ordinary method to achieve this aim is through sermons and exhortations. The more modern method, however, is to compose books of a high standard on the science of conduct, publish them throughout the country and thus educate the people in it. Another way is to force them to cultivate virtues and desist from evils.

These are the only ways which have been in vogue in the world since the earliest times, and nothing more is possible even in this most advanced age. The most correct, the most perfect and the most practical course is neither speech, nor writing, nor force, but the appearance of a person who is the perfect embodiment of morals,—a person in whom are reflected the virtues in practice, and every movement of whose lips does the work of thousands of books, and every sign from whom becomes a king's order. Whatever morals exist today in this world are the reflections of the personalities of these holy men. All other factors are merely paintings and decorations in the edifice of civilization.

*The Muslims consider it obligatory to send blessings on the Prophetﷺ wherever they utter or hear his name; the Arabic expression used is *Salla-Allāh 'Alayhi wa Sallam*. In the works of Muslim authors this is repeated wherever the Prophet'sﷺ name occurs. As the utterance of the expression in any other language does not serve the purpose it has not been translated into English, but the first letter ﷺ has been inserted to indicate that the original has it.

1 *'Alam i Kāi'nāt*.

But the holy persons known to history so far [*i.e.* until before the advent of the Prophet ﷺ] were models of particular aspects of morals. For example, in the school of Christ instruction was given only in forbearance and patience, peace and forgiveness, contentment and humility. In the teachings of Christ the noble qualities required for administration and government have no place, while in those of Moses and Noah there is no room for general amnesty.

It was for this reason that the need of a new leader was felt at every step and for the very same reason humanity, in order to attain perfection, was always in expectation of one, perfect in all respects¹—a leader who could wield sword and live in seclusion, too, who could live the life of a monarch and conqueror and also of a mendicant, who could be a ruler of the world and also a reciter of the names of Allah, who could live the life of a poor man with contentment and also of a rich man with a generous heart. This perfect-medium between the Creator and the Universe, this all-comprehensive personality, this (embodiment of the) Holy Scripture is the highest ascent of the creation.

Nothing in this mortal world is eternal, and for this reason this perfect personality too could not remain here for ever. It, was, therefore, necessary to preserve a complete picture of every one of his utterances, every manifestation of his movements, and every detail of the portrait of his existence, so that they might be utilized for guidance at every stage of life, whenever needed. But it is a strange coincidence that just as all other founders of religions did not possess the quality of all-comprehensiveness, so also the pictures of their achievements, as preserved, were incomplete. Of thirty-three years of Christ's life events relating to three years only are known. The religious reformers of Persia are known only through the *Shāh-nāmah*. The Indian prophets are lost in mythical stories. The existing *Torah* is the only source of whatever little we know of Moses and this *Torah* came into vogue 300 years after him.

It was an indication from the Almighty that because their achievements and teachings were not to last for all times it was not

¹ The note of Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī, the editor of the *Sirah*, has not been translated.

necessary that a more complete picture of their work than what has been portrayed in the traditions should have been preserved. The Almighty Himself comprehends what is needed and makes provision for a thing as and when it is required.

The followers of all religions hold equally dear their respective faiths. For this reason, if a direct question is asked as to who was the person in whom the quality of comprehensiveness was prominent, then different answers will be forthcoming from different directions. But if the same question is put differently in this manner as to who was that person whose achievements of life were recorded, on the one hand, with a correctness which could not be ensured even in the case of any Revealed book (preceding the *Qur'an*), and, on the other hand, from the point of extensiveness with the minutest details of his utterances and deeds, conduct and manners, appearance and form, movements and words, nature of tastes and mode of speaking, way of living and social relations, eating and drinking, walking and moving, sitting and standing, sleeping and waking, and laughing and talking which have been preserved. In that case the only answer to the question could be "Muhammad ρ of Arabia" ¹ Whatever has been said so far is the religious aspect of the object of writing this book. If you look at this problem from a literary point of view, *Sirah* (biography) holds a special status among the various branches of arts and sciences. The events of the life of even the most ordinary person are a guide in knowing the truth and drawing lessons therefrom. Even the humblest of men entertains strange desires, makes queer plans, tries to move forward in the limited circle of his activities, ascends the steps of progress, stumbles, undergoes hardships, sits down due to fatigue, and then proceeds again. In short, whatever strange and queer varieties of effort and action, endeavour and exertion, courage and sense of honour are found in the life of Alexander the Great are also exactly found in the life span of the poorest labourer.

On this basis if, for the purpose of drawing lessons and reaching conclusions, the discipline of biography is needed, the question of

1 The name of the Prophet is followed by the Arabic formula which can be rendered thus: "May my father and mother be sacrificed to him!")—Tr.

personality does not count. The only thing that remains to be seen is that facts and events which become available are of scoper, carefully selected and detailed, so that the complications and intricacies of all the ways of the various stages of life may come to view in their entirety. There can be nothing more fortunate for the science of biography than a happy combination of a perfect personality and authenticity of facts. Who can deny, after the reasons mentioned above, that not only the Muslims but the entire world needs to have the biography of the holy person whose sacred name is Muḥammad, the Prophet of Allāh. This need is not merely Islamic or religious; but it is a literary need, a moral, a social and a cultural one. To be brief, it is both a religious and a material necessity.

I was not unaware that being a Muslim it was my first duty to have written the life of the Prophet prior to any other work. But this was such an important and delicate duty that I could not have the necessary courage to perform this for a long time. However, I had been realizing that the need for performing this duty was becoming urgent.

The Need of Sirah for 'Ilm Kalam

In olden days the need for the *Sirah* was restricted to the study of history and annals. It had no concern with scholasticism. But the modern critics point out that if religion means only belief in Allāh then the argument ends here, but when the belief in prophet-hood is also a part of religion then the question arises as to what were the environments, morals and habits of the person who was the recipient of the revelations and the Messenger of Allāh.

The moral portrait of the Prophet which the historians of Europe have been presenting (May God protect us!) is a picture of evils of all kinds.

The present day needs of the Muslims have prevented them from acquiring knowledge of Arabic; hence whenever they feel interest in knowing the events of the life of the Prophet of Islam they have to turn to the books written by European authors. In this way the effect of the poisonous information slowly spreads itself, and those affected are not even conscious of it. As a result, a section of the people has come to regard the Prophet as a mere reformer who is deemed to have performed his duty if he has brought

about some reforms among the human beings; in their estimation his status as a Prophet ﷺ is not affected even though he had blemishes in his character.

These were the circumstances which impelled me to take the decision to write a comprehensive book on the life of the Prophet ﷺ. Apparently this task was quite easy. There are hundreds of works available in Arabic and it was a matter of few months to write a voluminous and interesting book on the basis of these works, but the fact is that no other compilation needed longer time and presented more difficulties. Later we shall describe in detail that no book has been written on the life of the Prophet ﷺ, which is based on authentic traditions only.¹

Hāfiz Zayn al-Dīn 'Irāqī who was the teacher of Ibn Hajar writes in his *Sirah* of the Prophet ﷺ:—

“The writers on *Sirah* should know that in *Sirah* all sorts of traditions are recorded, both authentic and rejectable.”

This is the reason that even in the works (on *Sirah*), considered to be authentic many weak traditions have found their way. It was, therefore, necessary that a large number of books on *Hadīth* and *Rijāl* should be collected and then after a careful research and critical study an authentic work should be prepared. But it was not possible for one man to make a detailed study of hundreds of books and collect (relevant) information from them. Along with this it was also necessary to have become acquainted with all that has been written in Europe about the Prophet ﷺ. Unfortunately I am not conversant with any of the European languages, and hence an organisation of the group of able scholars having knowledge of both Arabic and Western languages was needed. Now that Allāh has provided these facilities what excuse could I put forward? What greater misfortune could there be, if even now I fail to perform this duty?

Till the day of judgment none can be a rival of the Muslims in their pride for preserving the minutest details of every event of the Prophet's ﷺ life in such a comprehensive and careful manner that the facts of the life of no other person have been so recorded, nor it can be expected in future. What can be more creditable than the fact

1 The footnote of the editor of the *Sirah* has not been translated.

that for the purpose of research into the actions and sayings of the Prophet ﷺ, names and particulars of as many as thirteen thousand persons from among his companions and acquaintances have been recorded, and this was done at a time when the system of writing and compiling books had just commenced. The *Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sā'd, *Kitāb al-Sahābah* of Ibn al-Sakan, *Kitāb* of 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Alī bin Jārūd, *Kitāb al-Aqīlī fī al-Sahābah*, *Kitāb Ibn Abī Ḥatīm al-Rāzī*, *Kitāb al-Dawlābī*, *Kitāb al-Baghawī*,¹ *Tabaqāt of Ibn Mākula*, *Usud al-Ghābah*, *Istī'āb Isābah fī Aḥwāl il-Sahābah*—all these books give an account of only these respected persons. Have ever in the world the names and particulars of so many companions of a single person been recorded anywhere? We are giving below a short history and character of the materials on the life of the Prophet ﷺ collected by the ancient writers,² in order to indicate how they can be utilized for compiling a comprehensive and authentic book, and to what extent research and critical study are needed.

Beginning of the Science of Writing Sirah : Recorded Material

It is generally believed that because literacy did not prevail among the Arabs and the system of recording and compiling did not commence until the time of Caliph Maṣṣūr 'Abbāsī (c. 143 A.H.), whatever materials regarding *Sirah* and traditions existed till then were only (preserved) in memory and not reduced to writing. But this is not correct. The system of reading and writing (may be on a small scale) had been in vogue in Arabia since a long time. Even in ancient times there existed the Himyarite and Nabataean scripts. A large number of inscriptions in these scripts have been made available through European efforts. A little before the advent of Islam the script known as Arabic was evolved, and it has finally assumed the present form after undergoing many changes.

The history of this script and the ancient traditions about its origin as recorded in the books are mostly fictitious, e.g., *Ibn al-Nadīm* has narrated on the authority of *Kalbī* that the names of the persons who introduced this script were *Abūjād*, *Ḥawwāz*, *Ḥuṭṭī*, *Kalīmūn*,

1 The works are mentioned in the Introduction to *Istī'āb*.

2 It is to be noted that the accounts of the activities of the Prophet ﷺ, and the events of his life occur in numerous places in works on *Ḥadīth*; they can be of great help for *Sirah*. But merely on their basis a historical work on the subject cannot be produced; nor are they arranged in chronological order. The books of *Ḥadīth* are in addition to those mentioned here.

Sā'fas, *Qurishāt*—these very names are known today as *Abjad*, *Hawwaz*, *Ḥuṭṭī*, *Kaliman*, *Sā'fas*, *Qurishat*. Similar is the version of Kā'b that the inventor of all the scripts was Adam. Ibn al-Nadīm has stated on the authority of 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Abbās that those who first wrote in Arabic script were the three persons belonging to the clan of Bulān, a branch of the Ṭayy tribe, living in Anbār; their names were Maramar bin Marrah, Aslam bin Sadrah and 'Amir bin Jadrah.

Of all the traditions the one that can be regarded as acceptable is what Ibn al-Nadīm has quoted from the book, *Makkah*, of 'Umar bin Shabah, namely, that the person who invented the Arabic script belonged to Banū Mukhallid ibn Naḍar bin Kanānah. This was perhaps during the time when the Quraysh had already risen to eminence and used to travel in foreign countries in connection with trade. Ibn al-Nadīm writes that he had seen a document in the library of Mamān al-Rāshīd, which was in the hand-writing of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib bin Hāshim, the grandfather of the Prophet. ﷺ. It ran thus: "This loan has been advanced by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib bin Hāshim, a resident of Mecca, to such and such person of Himyār tribe and who lives in Ṣan'ā. This is for one thousand silver *Dirhams* weighed against iron measures. It is to be paid back on demand. God and two angels stand as witnesses."¹

This document shows that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had advanced one thousand *Dirhams* to some Himyarite. At the end two angels are cited as witnesses. This shows that the people at that time had a belief in angels, perhaps in the *Kirām al-Kātibīn*, Ibn al-Nadīm writes that the style of the writing of this document resembled that of the women. 'Allāmah Balādhurī has commented that at the time when Muḥammad ﷺ was called to prophethood only 17 persons from among the Quraysh knew how to write and read, *i.e.*, Ḥaḍrat 'Umār, Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, Ḥaḍrat 'Uṭhmān, Ḥaḍrat Abū 'Ubaydah, Ṭalḥah, Zayd, Abū Ḥudhayfah, Abū Sufyan, Shafa bint 'Abd-Allah and others.

The Battle of Badr was fought in the year 2 A.H. and those of the Quraysh who were taken prisoners had to pay a ransom; some of them could not pay the ransom on account of poverty. The Prophet ﷺ ordered them that they should take the responsibility of teaching ten

1 Ibn al-Nadīm (Cairo ed.), p. 17.

children how to write. Ḥaḍrat Zayd bin Thabit who used to reduce to writing the revelations received by the Prophet ﷺ had learnt of writing in this way.

These facts will show that in Arabia and especially in Mecca and Medina at the time of the Prophet ﷺ, the art of reading and writing had sufficiently become popular. However, this is to be verified whether or not at the time of the Prophet ﷺ, the *Ḥadīth*es and traditions too were recorded and whether on this basis any written material of the life of the Prophet ﷺ was available. It is clearly mentioned in several *Ḥadīth*es, some of which are in *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, that the Prophet ﷺ had prohibited the recording of *Ḥadīth*es. The wordings of the *Muslim* are :

“Do not make a record of what you hear from me; if any one has already written anything other than the *Qurʾān* he should erase it”.

But it appears that it was a direction of early period, because many authentic *Ḥadīth*es prove that, even in the time of the Prophet ﷺ, some companions, with his permission, used to record his utterances. In *Saḥīḥ Bukhārī* (chapter on knowledge), Abū Hurayrah is stated to have said, “none among the companions remembers more *Ḥadīth*es than I, excepting ‘Abd-Allah bin ‘Umar who used to reduce them to writing, while I did not.”

According to another *Ḥadīth*, Ḥaḍrat ‘Abd-Allah bin ‘Umar was in the habit of writing down whatever he heard from the Prophet ﷺ. The Quraysh warned him against this saying that he recorded every word of the Prophet ﷺ, even though it was uttered in a mood of anger or happiness. ‘Abd-Allah bin ‘Umar consequently gave up the practice and related the story before the Prophet ﷺ, who said, “You should write down what I utter, because whatever emanates from this (pointing to his mouth) is truth.”¹ *Khayṭ* Baghdādī in his book *Taqyid al-‘Ilm*, has stated that the notebook in which ‘Abd-Allah used to record the *Ḥadīth*es of the Prophet ﷺ was entitled *Ṣādiqah*.²

¹ Abū Dawūd, II, 77.

² Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmiʾ Bayān al-‘Ilm* (Cairo ed.) mentions *Ṣādiqah* on page 77.

The Prophet ﷺ, at one time, ordered that the names of all those who had by then embraced Islam should be recorded; as a result the names of fifteen hundred companions were registered.¹ Khaṭīb Baghdādī has said in his *Taqyid al-'Ilm* that whenever people in large number gathered round Ḥaḍrat Anas to hear Ḥadīth he used to take out a bundle and declared, "here are the very Ḥadīthes which I have recorded on hearing from the Prophet ﷺ."

The directions regarding the *zakāt* and *ṣadaqah* issued by the Prophet ﷺ to the various tribes were in writing and have been reproduced in original in the works on Ḥadīth. Similarly, the messages sent to the princes inviting them to accept Islam were also in writing. It is recorded in *Ṣaḥīḥ* Buḫḫārī (*Bāb Kitābat al-'Ilm*) that in the year of the conquest of Mecca when a certain Khuzā'ī killed a person within the precincts of the Ḥaram, the Prophet ﷺ from the back of a camel delivered a sermon. A person from Yemen approached him with the request that the sermon might be put in writing for him. The Prophet ﷺ ordered that it should be written down for him. In short, till the death of the Prophet ﷺ, the recorded material mentioned below had come into existence :

1. Ḥadīthes recorded by 'Abd-Allāh bin 'Amr bin al-'Ās or Ḥaḍrat 'Alī and Ḥaḍrat Anas and others.²

2. Written orders and treaties (Ḥudaybiyah, etc.) and the *farmāns* issued by the Prophet ﷺ to the different tribes.³

3. Letters which the Prophet ﷺ addressed to the Princes⁴ and the nobles.⁵

4. The names of fifteen hundred companions.

After the death of the Prophet ﷺ written material continued to grow, so much so that between the assassination of Walīd bin Yazīd and the advent of the 'Abbāsids the records of the narrations and

1 *Ṣaḥīḥ* Buḫḫārī (*Bāb al-Jihād*).

2 *Ibid.*, I, 21, 22.

3 *Sunan*, Ibn Mājah, p. 130; *Abū Dawūd*, I, 155-56.

4 *Buḫḫārī*, I, 5, 15.

5 *Ibid.*, I, 15.

compilations of Imām Zuhri alone, pertaining to *Ḥadīth*es and traditions had to be carried on the backs of horses and asses at the time of their transfer from the library of Walīd.¹

Maghazi

Sciences as such did not exist in Arabia. Only the events relating to family feuds and battles were preserved. It could, therefore, be conjectured that of the events relating to the life of the Prophet ﷺ and his activities and sayings the accounts of his battles should have gained popularity and the science of *Maghāzī* should have been founded before anything else. But of all the branches of traditions those relating to *Maghāzī* were given the last position. The rightly-guided Caliphs and the leading companions gave more attention to those actions and sayings of the Prophet ﷺ which concerned the *Sharī'ah* and on which the legal decisions were based. Imām Bukhārī, while describing the battle of Uḥud, has narrated from Ṣa'ib bin Yazīd:

"I lived in the company of 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Awf and Ṭalḥah bin 'Abd-Allāh and Miqdād and Sa'd, but I never heard them narrate anything about (the *Maghāzī* or activities of) the Prophet ﷺ, excepting what Ḥaḍrat Ṭalḥah related, about the Battle of Uḥud."

Ḥaḍrat 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Awf, Ṭalḥah, Miqdād and Sa'd Waqās were among the leading companions and many *Ḥadīth*es have been narrated from them. The only explanation of the above statement can, therefore, be that they did not usually describe the events of the Prophet's ﷺ battles, except that Ḥaḍrat Ṭalḥah used to narrate the incidents of the battle of Uḥud.

This was the reason why the scholars who had adopted *Maghāzī* as the subject of their special study not regarded as authoritative by the elite as they were popular among the masses but the pillars of this science were Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi. Wāqidi is openly declared a liar by the *Muḥaddithīn*; Ibn Ishāq is considered reliable by one section, but untrustworthy by another section of the same status. Details follow:

Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal has said:

There are three classes of writings which have no basis: books on *Maghāzī*, on battles and commentaries.²

1 'Allāmah Dhahābī, *Tadhkirāt al-Ḥuffāz*.

2 Mullā 'Alī Qārī (Mujtabā Press), *Mawdū'āt*, p. 185.

Khaṭīb Baghdādī in quoting this saying observes that Imām Ḥanbal's reference is probably to those books only which had no basis. He has further stated :

"Of the commentaries those of Kalbī and Muqātil are well known. Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal has said that Kalbī's commentary is replete with falsehood from the beginning to the end," and further continues, "so far as *Maghāzī* is concerned the book of Muḥammad bin Ishāq is the most noteworthy work on this science, but he used to narrate on the authority of the Jews and the Christians. Imām Shāfi'ī says that the books by Wāqidī are false."

In spite of all these observations it was not possible to ignore this (discipline). Hence the leading companions and the *Muḥaddithīn* used to narrate events most scrupulously and only to the extent they were well preserved.

Beginning of the Writing of Books and Compilation was due to the Patronage of the State

Although the knowledge of jurisprudence and *Ḥadīth* had spread widely and many centres of teaching were established in the time of the companions and the rightly-guided Caliphs yet most of the work was done orally. The Umayyads, however, got books written by the scholars. Qāḍī Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has quoted in his *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm* the following words of Imām Zuhri : "We disliked (the idea of) committing knowledge to writing, till the Amirs forced us to do so." First of all Amīr Mu'āwiyah sent for 'Ubayd bin Sharyah from Yemen and got the history of ancient peoples compiled, and this was called *Al-khbar al-Mādiyyīn*.¹

After Amīr Mu'āwiyah, 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān who ascended the throne in the year 65 A.H. got books written on every branch of knowledge by the scholars. He ordered Sa'id bin Jubayr, the greatest scholar of his time, to write a commentary of the *Holy Qur'an*. Accordingly the said Imām wrote a commentary and sent it to him; this was kept in the State library. The commentary which is attributed to 'Atā bin Dīnār is the same. 'Atā happened to get it from the royal library.²

1 Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fahrist*, p. 244.

2 *Mizan al-I'tidāl*, 'Atā bin Dīnār.

Ḥaḍrat ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, during his regime, advanced greatly the practice of writing and compiling books. He issued orders throughout his territories that the *Ḥadīth*es be collected and recorded and got Sa‘d bin Ibrāhīm who was a distinguished scholar of *Ḥadīth* and the Qāḍī of the holy city of Medina, to compile volumes of *Ḥadīth*es and had them sent to the different parts of his dominion. ‘Allāmah ibn ‘Abd al-Barr writes in his *Bayān al-‘Ilm* :

“Sa‘d bin Ibrāhīm says, ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz asked us to collect the *Ḥadīth*es. We compiled many volumes. He sent one volume each to every part of his dominion.”¹ He also sent special orders to Abū Bakr bin Muḥammad bin ‘Umar bin Ḥazm Ansārī, who was the greatest scholar of *Ḥadīth* of his time and was the teacher of Imām Zuhri and the Qāḍī of Medina, to collect *Ḥadīth*es.

Narrations of Hadrat ‘Ayes Shah

In the science of *Ḥadīth* the narrations of Ḥaḍrat ‘Ayes Shah have a special status; viz., most of the *Ḥadīth*es on which are based deduction relating to jurisprudence and beliefs were narrated by her. This was the reason why ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz took special care in respect of them. ‘Umrah, daughter of ‘Abd al-Rahmān, was brought up and educated by Ḥaḍrat ‘Ayes Shah under her special care. She was a learned woman and a great scholar of *Ḥadīth*. All the ‘ulamā agree that no scholar knew more than she about the *Ḥadīth*es narrated by her (Ḥaḍrat ‘Ayes Shah). ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz wrote to Abu Bakr bin Muḥammad to have the narrations of ‘Umrah recorded and sent to him.²

Special Attention on Maghazi.

Till then no special care had been given to *Sīrah* and *Maghāzī*. Ḥaḍrat ‘Umar paid special attention to this science and issued orders that special study circles should be set up for the battles of the Prophet ﷺ. He ordered ‘Aṣīm bin ‘Umar bin Qatadah Ansārī (d. 121 A.H.) who was a specialist in this science to give lessons to

1 Ibn Sā‘d, *Tabaqāt* (Leyden), Part II, Section 2, p. 134.

2 Ibn Hajar ‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, § Abū Bakr bin Muḥammad and ‘Umrah bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān; Ibn Sā‘d, *Tabaqāt*, Part II, Section 2, p. 134.

the people in the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Damascus on *Maghāzī* and *Manāqib*¹ (battles and virtues of the Prophet ﷺ).

About the same time Imām Zuhri wrote an independent work on *Maghāzī* and it was the first book on this subject as has been explained by Imām Suhayli in *Rawdah al-Unuf*. Imām Zuhri was the greatest scholar of his time. No one was his equal in the knowledge of *Fiqh* and *Hadith*. He was the teacher of the teachers of Imām *Bukhari*. In collecting *Hadithes* and traditions, he underwent great hardships. He used to go to every Anṣārī's house in the holy city of Medina to enquire about the sayings and particulars of the Prophet ﷺ, from every man and woman, young and old, and even from *purdah*² observing, whomsoever he happened to meet and recorded them. He was a Qurayshite, was born in 50 A.H. and had seen many companions. In 80 A.H. he went to the *Darbār* of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān who honoured and respected him. He wrote the book *al-Maghāzī* perhaps at the instance of Ḥaḍrat 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Azīz. It is particularly to be noted that the said Imām was connected with the royal courts and belonged to the intimate circle. Hishām bin 'Abd al-Malik had entrusted to him the education of his children. He died in the year 124 A.H.

It was due to Imām Zuhri that an interest in *Maghāzī* and *Sirah* was created among the people.

Pupils of Imam Zuhri

His school produced many persons who were experts in this science. Of them Ya'qūb bin Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad bin Ṣāliḥ Tam-mār and 'Abd al-Raḥman bin 'Abd al-'Azīz had a special reputation in the science of *Maghāzī*. Consequently they are mentioned in the *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* and other books with the distinguishing title of *Sāhib al-Māghāzī* (the Master of the science of *Maghāzī*).

Musa bin 'Uqbah

Of the pupils of Imām Zuhri, two had acquired great reputation in this science. These were the two persons with whom (the study of) this science came to an end. Mūsā bin 'Uqbah was a

1 *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, § 'Aṣim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah.

2 *Ibid.*

slave in the house of Zubayr and had seen Ḥaḍrat ‘Abd ‘Allāh bin ‘Umar. Imām Mālik was his pupil in *Ḥadīth* and was his great admirer. He used to tell people in a persuasive manner to learn *Māghāzī* from him if they wanted to study it. The following are the distinctive features of his work on *Māghāzī* :

1. Till then the authors did not consider it necessary to verify the authenticity of the traditions, but he took special care in this respect in most cases.

2. The tendency of the authors generally was to record the events in large numbers, the inevitable result of which was that traditions, both relevant and irrelevant, were incorporated. Mūsā took necessary precautions and accepted only those traditions which appeared to him to be authentic. This is the reason why his book is comparatively shorter than other works on *Māghāzī*.

3. As there were no restrictions of age in narrating *Ḥadīth*, even children and young men joined schools and narrated *Ḥadīth* on hearing them from others, and because it was not possible for persons of such age to understand the significance of the events and remember them correctly, confusions often occurred in the traditions. Mūsā, unlike others, had studied this science in an advanced age. He died in 141 A.H.

Mūsā's work is now extinct, but it was in circulation and available for a long time and has been frequently referred to in all the ancient works on *Sirah*.

Muhammad bin Ishaq

Muḥammad bin Ishāq acquired the widest reputation in *Māghāzī*, and is known as its *Imām*. In general reputation, although Wāqidī is not behind him, his (Wāqidī's) falsehood is common knowledge, and for this reason his reputation was one of infamy. Muḥammad bin Ishāq is a *Tābi‘ī*. He had seen one Companion, Ḥaḍrat Anas, and was expert in the science of *Ḥadīth*, Imām Zuhri used to keep a porter at his door, so that none could enter without permission. But Muḥammad bin Ishāq had a general permission to come whenever he wished. The *Muḥaddithin* differed about his being reliable. Imām Malik was much opposed to him, but the judgement of the

Muḥaddithin in general is that his narrations may be quoted as authority in *Sirah* and *Maghāzī*. Imām Buḥārī has not accepted his narrations for his *Saḥīḥ* but has quoted *Juzal-Qur'at* on his authority in and for his *Tārīkh* he has taken most of the facts from him (Ibn Ishāq).

He improved the science of *Maghāzī* and made it attractive to such an extent that even the 'Abbāsids who had a taste for other branches of literature developed an interest in *Maghāzī*. Ibn 'Adī has consequently made a mention of this favour in a special manner. Ibn 'Adī has also written that no work in this science has attained the status of his book. Ibn Habān has said in *Kitāb al-Thiqāt* that the *Muḥaddithin* criticized the book of Muḥammad bin Ishāq on the ground that he used to incorporate in his book the facts regarding *Khaybar* and other battles after having received them from those Jews who had embraced Islam, and because these converts must have learnt them from the (unconverted) Jews, they could not to be relied upon fully. The explanatory notes of 'Allamah Dhahabī establish that Muḥammad bin Ishāq used to narrate from the Jews and the Christians and considered them to be reliable. He died in 15 A.H.

Muḥammad bin Ishāq's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* was translated into Persian under orders of Abū Bakr Sa'd Zangī in the time of *Shaykh Sa'dī*. I have seen its manuscript in Allahabad. ¹

Muḥammad bin Ishāq's work was widely published and several great scholars of *Ḥadīth* edited it. Ibn Hishām edited it after careful scrutiny and made additions to it; this is known as *Sirah Ibn Hishām*. As the original book is rare today, the only recension of it left to us is the *Sirah* of Ibn Hishām.

Ibn Hisham

Ibn Hishām's name was 'Abd al-Malik. He is a very trustworthy and famous historian; he belonged to the tribe of Himyār. Probably it was for this connection that he wrote the history of the Himyār dynasty, which is available even today. He added explanatory notes on difficult words occurring in the *Sirah*. He died in 213 or 218 A.H.

¹ [The oldest MS. is in Ayā Şūfiyah Library, Istanbul. A photostat copy of the same has been secured by the Pakistan Historical Society. Tr.]

Due to popularity of *Sirah* Ibn Ishāq, it was versified by persons such as Abū Naṣr Faṭḥ bin Mūsā Khiḍrawī (d. 663 A.H.), ‘Abd al-‘Azīz bin Aḥmad, known as Ṣa’dawīrī (d. c. 607 A.H.), Abū Ishāq Anṣārī Tilimsānī, and Faṭḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn al-Shahīd (d. 793 A.H.). The last-mentioned book contains about ten thousand verses and is entitled *Faṭḥ al-Gharīb fī Sirat al-Ḥabīb*.

Ibn Sa’d

Wāqidī himself is not worth mentioning. But one from among his selected pupils, Ibn Sa’d, wrote a comprehensive and detailed book on the lives of the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions that it has had no rival till today. Ibn Sa’d is a famous *Muḥaddith*. The *Muḥaddithīn* have generally said that, though his teacher, Wāqidī, was not trustworthy, he himself could be quoted as authority. Khatīb Baḥdādī has written about him: “He was a man of learning, grace, understanding and justice; he has written a voluminous book on the companions and *Tābi‘īn* up to his time. He has said many new and good things.”¹

He was from among the *Mawālī* of Banī Hāshim. He was born in Baṣrah, but had settled in Bāghdād. The famous historian, Balādhurī, was his pupil. Ibn Sa’d died in 230 A.H. at the age of sixty-two. His book is known as *Tabaqāt* and is in twelve volumes. Two volumes are devoted to the life of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, and this portion is exclusively on his biography. The remaining volumes deal with the events of the lives of the Companions and the *Tābi‘īn*. Because the Prophet ﷺ has been so often mentioned in connection with the lives of the Companions, these volumes also contain considerable material on the *Sirah* of the Prophet ﷺ.

1 *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* § Muḥammad bin Sa’d.

REINHART DOZY

(1820—1883)

By

DR. INAYATULLAH, LAHORE

Reinhart Dozy is one of the most eminent Orientalists that Holland produced in the last century. He belonged to a family of French origin that had migrated to Holland and settled there in the seventeenth century. Dozy himself was born in 1820 in the town of Leyden, which has been justly famous for its old University. At the age of seventeen, he entered the University of his native town as a student, and showed a special aptitude for the study of languages and history. He attracted the attention of Professor Weijers, with whom he studied Arabic and other Semitic languages. This inspiring teacher also instilled in the young pupil a passion for minute accuracy and lucid exposition.

Dozy made his literary debut by writing a Prize Essay. The Royal Institute of Holland in 1840 invited young scholars to enter a competition and write a dissertation on the subject of Clothes which the Arab people of both sexes have used in different ages and different countries. In short, a monograph on Arabian costume was demanded by the Institute. The subject at once appealed to the restless intellect and philological interests of Dozy; and he flung himself into the arduous task without any hesitation. He ransacked the University library for the necessary material and was able to produce the required Essay just in time. It was adjudged to be the best of the lot; and in November, 1843, the prize was duly awarded to the young man of twenty-three. He later revised this Essay and published it in 1845 under the title of *Dictionnaire Detaille des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (A detailed dictionary of the names of clothes used among the Arabs). This was Dozy's first published work which laid the foundation of his reputation as a scholar. About the same time, he qualified himself for the Degree of Doctor of Literature.

His teacher, Professor Weijers, had given a good deal of attention to the writings of the Arabs of Spain, and he accordingly brought to Dozy's notice Conde's *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en Espana* (history of the Arab Rule in Spain). This work of the Spanish historian was at that time regarded as the standard work on the subject, and enjoyed celebrity throughout Europe ; but Dozy soon found out that it was hopelessly uncritical and was full of errors of various kinds. His interest in Muslim Spain was, however, thoroughly aroused ; and he henceforth devoted himself almost entirely to Arabo-Spanish studies. He began to prepare and publish critical editions of the writings of Arabic scholars which had a direct bearing on the political and literary history of Muslim Spain. Some of these he also annotated or translated into the French language. One of his early translations was that of the *History of Banū Zayyān of Tlemcen*, which he published with notes in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Paris* in 1844. After this, he selected a very promising subject, namely the romantic history of the family of the 'Abbādis, who reigned in brilliant splendour in the colourful city of Seville after the downfall of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. He collected with his usual industry from various sources all the material that was related to the 'Abbādis and their age, and published it in the original Arabic in three successive volumes under the title of *Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbadidis* (Leyden, 1846, 1852 & 1863). By this laborious work, Dozy for the first time made available to students of Spanish history a vast amount of source material concerning the 'Abbādis, about whom scholars had hitherto known so little. The relevant material was so scattered that he had to make journeys to Germany and England in order to examine and make extracts from the manuscripts preserved in the libraries of these countries.

Another Arabic text which Dozy edited and published in the meanwhile was the Historical Commentary of Ibn Badrūn on the poem of Ibn 'Abdūn. The interest of this volume lies in the fact that Ibn Badrūn, who lived in Seville in the twelfth century, throws important light on the period in which the Berber rulers of the Almoravid dynasty invaded Spain,

In 1847, Dozy edited from a manuscript in the Leyden Library the text of the History of the Almohades (*al-Muwahhidūn*) by 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī. The next year, he brought out an annotated edition of another Arabic work, dealing with the history of Muslim Spain. It was the first volume of Ibn al-'Idhārī's *al-Bayān al-Mughrib fi Akhbār al-Maghrib*, which was followed by a second volume three years later.

In 1850, Dozy was appointed to the Professorship of History in the University of Leyden, with which he had already been associated for many years as a student and research scholar. In the beginning, he had to devote much of his time to his official duties, which included lectures on various aspects of European history. Every year, he chose a fresh period for his discourses; but his task was facilitated by his tireless industry and his prodigious memory.

Dozy, however, did not neglect his favourite subject of study, namely the Muslim Rule in Spain. In collaboration with William Wright of Cambridge, Gustave Dugat of France and Ludolf Krehl of Germany, he embarked upon the publication of the monumental work of al-Maqqarī called the *Nafh ut-Tib*. Although Maqqarī is a comparatively late writer, his work is a vast mine of information regarding the literary and political history of Muslim Spain. He has incorporated in his work extensive and varied material from earlier writers whose works are no longer extant. Al-Maqqarī's work is, therefore, our chief authority and source of information for the Muslim period of Spanish history; and by planning and executing an edition of this monumental work which covers more than eighteen hundred pages of printed text, Dozy brought to a fitting and splendid culmination that series of Arabic texts dealing with Muslim Spain which had seen the light of day through his scholarly labours.

The year 1861, in which the edition of the great work of al-Maqqarī was brought to a successful conclusion, also saw the publication in four octavo volumes of his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, on which the fame of Dozy as a historian chiefly rests. The material with which the historian had to deal was of the utmost complexity and diversity; for the author had examined

nearly all the manuscripts bearing upon the Muslims of Spain which were known to be extant in his time in Europe and several of which he himself had been instrumental in bringing to the light of day in printed form. In the first book of his history, Dozy sketches in bold strokes the character of the pre-Islamic Arabs, the career of the Prophet, the rapid spread of the Arab Empire, the conquest of Spain by Arabs and Berbers and the jealousies and rivalries which later arose among them. The second book deals primarily with the conquered people; it takes us back to the Visigothic dominion, describes the settlement of the country by the new invaders from the south, the efforts of the native Christians to throw off the foreign yoke and the height attained by Arab power under the great Caliph Abdur-Raḥman the Third. The Third Book continues the history of Spain under the Umayyad Caliphate. The scholarly and peace-loving bibliophile, Ḥakam the Second, is succeeded by the boy-Caliph Hishām, but actually by the great Prime Minister al-Manṣūr, whose domestic policy and victorious campaigns against the Christians of the North are described in several vivid chapters. The rest of the Book deals with the inglorious reigns of the puppet Caliphs. In the Fourth and last Book, the tangled story of city-republics and of petty princes (*mulūk al-Tawā'if*) who arose on the ruins of the Caliphate is set forth with great skill, and the narrative is brought down to the Almoravid invasion of Spain and closed with the reign of the unfortunate Mu'tamid, the last independent king of Seville.

Dozy's work challenges comparison with the best specimens of historical literature. It is at once judicious and profound and equally pleasing to the literary and historical sense of the cultivated reader. Its graphic and vivacious style gives life to the narration, and brings old manners, old feelings and old times vividly before our eyes. The Muslims of Spain live once more in its pages, with all their joys, rivalries, their hatreds, their loyalties, their chivalry and their heroism. It is, therefore, no wonder that Dozy's work which originally appeared in the French language was hailed as the standard work on the subject, and was subsequently translated into several other languages of Europe. It was translated into English by Francis Griffin Stokes

and published in London in 1913 under the title of *Spanish Islam*. It has also found an Urdu translator in the person of the late M. 'Inayatullah, the son of Mawlawī Zakāullah of Delhi. This Urdu translation bears the title of '*Ibrat Nāma i Andalus*' and has been published in 1939 at Delhi.

While fully recognizing the undoubted merits and points of excellence in Dozy's work, we may, however, be permitted to pass two criticisms on it on the present occasion. Firstly, his history is incomplete because it stops at the year 1110, when the rule of the Berber dynasties begins in Spain. About four centuries of Muslim rule in southern Spain thus remain unrecorded by the great historian. May be, he was not in sympathy with the Berbers, who were rude and intolerant as compared with the polished Arabs. Secondly, Dozy confined himself to the narration of merely political events and neglects the cultural and intellectual developments of that age. He may, however, be readily excused for this omission because the necessary materials at his disposal were too scanty and the time was, therefore, not yet ripe for such an attempt.

Another field of study in which Dozy made a most valuable and characteristic contribution is that of Arabic lexicography. Native Arabic philologists had given evidence of sharp acumen and minute care in the study of the phenomena of Arabic language, and had recorded the usage of Arabic vocabulary in the form of lexicons with a devotion and amplitude which has fallen to the lot of few other languages of mankind. Arabic lexicons by Western scholars, such as Freytag and Lane, also existed in Dozy's time ; but all these works dealt with the Classical Arabic language and the usage of earlier writers alone. Dozy, on the other hand, undertook to register the post-classical semantic development of the Arabic vocabulary. In due course of time, he produced his own lexicon which he called *Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes*. It appeared in two bulky volumes in 1881 and is, in fact, the last published work of its author. He had been collecting material for this work throughout his life ; and it took him eight years to arrange this material in a proper form. The task was long and arduous, but he was happy to accomplish

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it just in time ; because his health soon after broke down and he died two years later in 1883. It is interesting to note that Dozy began his literary career by compiling a Dictionary of Arabic Costume, and he also ended it by producing his Supplement to Arabic Dictionaries, a work of purely philological research.

Dozy's *Dictionnaire* was at once hailed as the greatest work of Arabic lexicography which had appeared since Lane's great Lexicon, and in the eyes of philologists it is Dozy's chief title to fame.

Dozy devoted his great talents and a whole life time of indefatigable industry to the service of oriental studies ; and when he laid down his pen at last, he had made most valuable additions to our knowledge of Islamic history and Arabic philology. In this way, he greatly facilitated the task of other workers in these fields, and is, therefore, entitled to our highest respect and deepest gratitude.

‘KHALIFAT ALLAH’ TITLE IN THE COINS OF BENGAL SULTANS

By

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The coins, issued by Bengal Sultāns, reveal that there were four stages of development in their attitude towards the *Khilāfat*¹ :—

- (i) Coins bearing the name of the *Khālīfah* with explicit recognition of his legal authority,
- (ii) Coins with the name of the *Khālīfah* dropped but declaring faith in the *Khilāfat*,
- (iii) Coins with the title of ‘*Khālīfat Allāh*’ for Bengal Sultāns,
- (iv) Coins bearing the *Kalimah* and the names of first four rightful *Khālīfahs*. It is the third category of coins, i.e. those bearing ‘*Khālīfat Allāh*’ title that have been dealt with here in this short article.

The first Bengal Sultān who issued coins declaring himself ‘*Khālīfat Allāh*’ is Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh,² (818-836/A. D. 1415-1432) son of Rājā Ganesa. During the earlier part of his reign he followed his predecessors and issued coins declaring himself *Nāṣir al-Islām Wa’l-Muslimīn* (helper of Islam and the Muslims) or *Nāṣir-i-Amīr al-Mu’minīn Ghawṭh al-Islām wa’l-Muslimīn* (helper of the Commander of the Faithful, refuge of Islam and the Muslims). But from 834/A. D. 1430, he issued coins with the title of ‘*Khālīfat Allāh*.’³ In some coins the title ‘*Khālīfat Allāh*’

1 See my article, “The *Khālīfah* as recognised in the Coins of Bengal Sultāns” in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (hereafter referred to as *J.N.S.I.*), Vol. XVII, Part II, 1955.

2 H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Oxford, A. D. 1907, Vol. II, p. 163. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins; Muhammadan States*, London, A. D. 1885, p. 35.

3 Wright, op. cit., p. 163.

is preceded by the term '*al-muwayy'idu ba-tāyyid al-Raḥmān*' (strengthened by the help of God). 836/A.D. 1432 being the last date¹ of Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, it is clear that towards the end of his reign, he arrogated to himself this high title. It may be noted that none of his predecessors in Bengal assumed such title; in fact the only example of such pretension among his predecessors in Indo-Pak history is that of Sulṭān Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh,² of Delhī, son of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī. No coin of his (Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad's) short-lived son and successor Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh (836/A.D. 1432) bearing the '*Khalīfat Allāh*' title has so far come to light, though his extant coins add the term '*al-muwayy'idu ba-tāyyid al-Raḥmān*' (strengthened by the help of God) before his name. But the title '*Khalīfat Allāh*' is conspicuous in the coins of the first two restored Ilyās Shāhī rulers, Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd I (836-864/A.D. 1432-1459) and his son Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh³ (864-879/A.D. 1459-1474). They not only assumed the title '*Khalīfat Allāh*', but added force to it with the addition of the term '*bi'l-hujjat wa'l-burhān*' (by proof and testimony) and '*al-muwayy'idu ba-tāyyid al-Raḥmān*'.⁴

One very naughty problem now confronts us, i.e., what motive led Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, a converted Muslim to assume such a title? It has already been pointed out that during the early part of his reign, he was satisfied declaring himself '*Nāṣir al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn*' and '*Nāṣir i Amīr al-Mu'minīn Ghawth al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn*'.

Al-Sakhāwī records⁵ that the same Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh sought for and actually received recognition from al-Ashraf

1 *Vide infra*.

2 I H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 2nd edition, Lahore, A.D. 1944, p. 32.

3 Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-68.

4 *Ibid.*; *J. N. S. I.*, 1947, Vol. IX, p. 47.

5 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, Cairo, A.H. 1303, Vol. VIII, p. 280.

Barsbay,¹ the ruler of Egypt. This singular information is not available in any other source barring the Zafar al-Wālih of Ḥajī Dabīr² who copies Sakhāwī verbatim. But the extant coins of Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh do not betray any such evidence, rather they give him the title of "*Kḥlīfat Allāh*", a very high title in the then Muslim World. The question then arises, why did he assume such a high title? The explanation is to be sought in the prevailing political situation of the country. The *Riyād*,³ the *Mirāt al-Asrār*,⁴ and letters of two contemporary ṣūfīs, Mīr Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī⁵ and Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam⁶ suggest that when Rājā Ganesa was conspiring against the House of Ilyās Shāh and actually supplanted it in favour of his converted son Jadu (Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh) Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jawnpūr invaded Bengal at the invitation of Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam. According to the *Riyād*, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī returned to Jawnpūr against his will, at the intercession of Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam after Jadu was converted, but according to Arakanese source⁷ and the Pandwah manuscript discovered by Buchanan Hamilton,⁸ he was defeated. The *Riyād* would have us believe that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī died at the curse of Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam soon after he returned to his own Kingdom,⁹ but the extant coins of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī reveal that he lived at least upto 844/A.D. 1440.¹⁰ It seems, therefore, that the author of the *Riyād* or the sources utilised by him were not free from confusion about

1 Identified with al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Barsbay (A.D. 1422-1438), the 9th of the Burjī line of *Mamlūk* rulers of Egypt.

2 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī *alias* Ḥajī Dabīr, *Zafar al-Wālih ba-Muzaffar wa-ālih*, edited by E. Denison Ross, London, A.D. 1928, Vol. III, p. 79.

3 Ghulām Ḥusayn Salim, *Riyād al-Salātīn*, Bibliotheca Indica, p. 113.

4 'Abd al-Raḥmān Chishtī: *Mirāt al-Asrār*, 'Aliyah Madrasah MS., Dacca, f. 184 (a).

5 Translated by Prof. H. Askarī in *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1948.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Translated by A.P. Phayre in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereafter referred to as *J.A.S.B.*) 1844, Vol. XIII, p. 44 46 and *History of Burma*, London, A.D. 1884, p. 78.

8 *Eastern India*, edited by Martin, Vol. II, p. 618.

9 Ghulām Ḥusayn Salim op. cit., pp. 113.

10 Wright op. cit., pp. 208-211.

the real state of affairs in these troubled days in Bengal. Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī being alive till A.D. 1440, i.e., the whole period of ascendancy of the House of Rājā Ganesa, there is reason to believe that he kept a watchful eye to the affairs in Bengal. Firishtah records¹ that before his accession Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad took consent from "the nobles and other pillars of the state" (*A 'yān wa Arkān-i-dargāh*), who "followed the King in worldly affairs and have nothing to do with religion" *Mā tābi' pādshāhem dar Umūr-i-dunyawī ba-madḥhab wa dīn Kārī nīst*). If Sakḥāwī² and Hājī Dabīr³ are to be believed, he reconstructed the mosques demolished by his father, built *madrasah* in the holy city of Makka, sought for and received investiture from the *Khaliḥ* of Egypt. He transferred the capital from Pandwah (the capital of supplanted Ilyās Shāhī dynasty) to Lakhnawtī, the historic city with long tradition.⁴ From his time the Muslim architecture in Bengal took absolutely local outlook.⁵ All these evidences display the supreme statesmanship of Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh who realised quite well that he was surrounded by officials, nobles grandees or even soldiers who received favour for a long time from a Muslim dynasty. He therefore left no stone unturned to give his Kingdom a local character and that of homogeneity and thus prepared the ground for his probable clash with the Sharqī rulers. The "*Khaliḥat Allāh*" title assumed by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad towards the close of his reign also seems to be an attempt to spark a sense of homogeneity and local feeling in the mind of the people. Such a hypothesis explains the arrogance of "*Khaliḥat Allāh*" title of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, the converted son of Rājā Ganesa.

Our sources do not help us to ascertain whether there was any reaction against such arrogance by a convert. Subsequent events show that the reign of Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh son of

1 *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, Vol. II, Newal Kishore edition, p. 297.

2 *Al-Sakhāi*, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 280.

3 Hājī Dabīr, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 979.

4 Ghulām Husayn Salīm, op. cit., p. 116.

5 For the architectural design of Eklakhī tomb, see, Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), Taraporevala, Bombay.

Jalāl al-Dīn was extremely short-lived. His coins are dated only 836.¹ The only extant inscription of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad is also dated 836.² So Aḥmad Shāh's reign did hardly last for one year when he was killed by his slaves, named Shādī Khān and Nāṣir Khān. The sovereignty passed to the supplanted house of Ilyās Shāh represented by the restored Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd I. The earliest extant coin of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated 841, gives him the title "*Khalīfat Allāh bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-burhān*" (*Khalīfah* of God by proof and testimony).³ The title was continued in his subsequent issues as well as in the coins of his son and successor Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh. The term "*Bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-burhān*" (by proof and testimony) shows that it was aimed at counteracting the title "*Khalīfat Allāh*" adopted by the convert. Being Muslims by birth and belonging to the family of Muslim rulers, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd and Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak were rightly "*Khalīfat Allāh bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-burhān*" as against the convert Jalāl al-Dīn who was simply "*Khalīfat Allāh*." As if the coins were issued to declare that if the convert Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad could claim the title "*Khalīfat Allāh*" they were eligible to claim a far stronger title, i.e, they were "*Khalīfat Allāh bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-burhān*."

Bourdillon records one coin and Lane-Poole records two coins in the name of Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II⁴ (896/A.D. 1490). Laidlay⁵ copies one of Marsden's (ascribed to Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Delhī) and ascribes it to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II. All these coins are without any date or mint but have the inscription, "*Khalīfat Allāh bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-*

1 Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 36.

2 The inscription has been published in *J.A.S.B.*, No. 1952, Vol. XVIII, Plate I. Dr. Dani read the date 830 but it has been corrected by Shri Ziauddin Desai as 836 (*Islamic Culture*, July, 1958).

3 *J.N.S. I.*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 47.

4 Wright, op. cit., p. 171. Lane-Poole, op. cit., 42.

5 *J.A.S.B.*, 1846, p. 330.

burhān". The coins have been read as follows :—

Ref :	Obverse	Reverse	Remarks
B.M.C. Coin.	With border of many foils. السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه السلطان	Within triangular loops outside. الموید بتائید الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجت والبرهان	Arranged in B.M.C. reverse order.
I.M.C. Coin.	In a circle sur- rounded by arab- esques. ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد محمد شاه السلطان	In a circle surround- ed by arabesques. الموید بتائید الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجت والبرهان	
Laidlay in J.A.S.B. 1846.	as in B.M.C. Coin	As in B.M.C. & الموید بتائید الرحمن مستجاباد	

In the Indian Museum Catalogue, Bourdillon reads Muḥammad in the obverse but a reference to his illustration shows that the word is clearly Maḥmūd. As for Laidlay's reading, Blochmann¹ points out that the word Faṭḥābād is not visible. He suggests the reading of this portion "*bi'l-adl wa'l-iḥṣān*" or "*bi'l-aṣr wa'l-Zamān*" preferring the former. But a close examination of the illustration shows that the correct reading is "*Khāṭfat Allāh*

¹ J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 289.



¹ 'KHALIFAT ALLAH' TITLE IN THE COINS

bi'l-hujjat wa'l-burhān". So Laidlay's coin has in its reverse the same legend as we find in B.M.C. or I.M.C. coins.

Now the question arises, who issued these coins, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I or Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II? Lane-Poole, Bourdillon and Laidlay place them in the name of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II. Lane-Poole¹ argues that the *Kunyat* of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I was Abu'l Muẓaffar and not Abu'l Mujaḥid. Laidlay does not give any reason but simply thinks² that it does not belong to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. Bourdillon also does not give any reason but he seems to have been influenced by B.M.C. which he cited as reference.³ At the present state of our knowledge Lane-Poole's argument does not hold good. A large number of coins of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I have been found with the *Kunyat* of both Abu'l Muẓaffar and Abu'l Mujaḥid.⁴ The coins under reference may be classified into two types—type A having the obverse legend within the border of many foils and the reverse legend within triangular loops outside—type B having both obverse and reverse legends within circle surrounded by arabesques. Both these types of coins are available in the issues of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I as well as those of his son Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh.⁵

The coins being without any date, they cannot be definitely assigned to either of the Sultāns of the same name. But we have evidence to suggest that they belonged to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. The *Khalīfat* title of the coins is similar to that found in the coins of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. After Sultān Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh whose last date is 879/A.D. 1474, i.e., 17 years prior to the date of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II, no other Sultān inscribed this title in their coins, though the interval is represented by three powerful Sultāns whose issues have come down to us not in small number. Even Sultān Sayf al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, his (Nāṣir

1 Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 42, note.

2 J.A.S.B. 1846, p. 330.

3 Wright, op. cit., p. 171.

4 Rudolf Hoernle was the first to publish a large number of coins of Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I with both Abu'l Muẓaffar and Abu'l Mujaḥid *Kunyat* (J.A.S.B., 1881).

5 Coin Nos. 131, 132, 140 of I M.C. may be cited.

al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II's) father and immediate predecessor did not take such a title. Nor any of his successors including Sultān 'Ala' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh and Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh took this title in their coins.¹ Why did then Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II, whose reign did not last for more than a few months² revive such a high title?

Secondly, historians agree that Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II could claim a royal birth. According to Firishtah,³ he was the son of Sultān Sayf al-Dīn Firūz Shāh, while the same author noticed in the book of Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandahārī (not lost to us) that he was the son of Sultān Jalal al-Dīn Faṭḥ Shāh. In the inscriptions,⁴ Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II is called "Sultān bin Sultān" (Sultān son of a Sultān), but curiously enough, the epithet "Sultān bin Sultān" is missing in the coins attributed to him. This is against the usual practice in the Bengal coinage. There is not a single example in the Bengal coinage to show that the ruling king did not use his royal pedigree if he could claim so. On the other hand, in all the extant coins and inscriptions, Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I does not call himself "Sultān bin Sultān", obviously because he could not claim such a title. Firishtah categorically says that he took to agriculture, but the Amīrs found him out and put him to the throne.⁵ The question

1 Two inscriptions of the time of Sultān Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh, one of Sultān Jalal al-Dīn Faṭḥ Shāh and four of Sultān 'Ala' al-Dīn Ḥusayn Shāh bestowed the "Khalīfat Allāh" title upon the respective Sultāns. (A. H. Dani, *Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*, published as Appendix to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, 1957, pp. 87-88, 91-92.) The inscriptions were not official documents but prepared by the officers or individuals to commemorate the construction of mosques or other buildings. The evidence of inscriptions, therefore, cannot be accepted as they are not corroborated by the coins issued to mark the sovereignty of rulers. Inscriptions, however, suggest that the officers ascribed these titles to their masters out of their zeal and flattery. According to Dr. Qureshi, in Delhi, Sultān 'Ala' al-Dīn Khaljī was given the title "Khalīfat Allāh" by poets, Ḥasan and Amīr Khusrāw, though the Sultān did not take any such title in his coins. (I. H. Qureshi, op. cit. pp. 29-32.)

2 The last date of his predecessor is 895/A.D. 1489 and the first date of his successor is 896/A.D. 1490.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭah*, Vol. II, Newal Kishore edition, pp. 300-301.

4 A. H. Dani, op. cit., published as Appendix to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, 1957, p. 42.

5 *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭah*, Vol. II, Newal Kishore edition, p. 298.

of inscribing the words, “Sultān bin Sultān” in the coins or inscription does not arise in the case of Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh-I. This is, therefore, a strong evidence to suggest that the coins under discussion are exactly similar to those issued by Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd I and actually belonged to him.

Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II is said to be of Ḥabshī parentage. We have seen earlier that no other Ḥabshī ruler, in fact none of the successors of Sultān Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh adopted the “*Khalifat Allāh*” title in their coins. It may, therefore, be concluded that the coins with “*Khalifat Allāh*” title hitherto ascribed to Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II actually belonged to Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. Furthermore, as all the coins ascribed to Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II bear the title, “*Khalifat Allāh bi'l-hujjat wa'l-burhān*”, the natural corollary is that all these coins belonged to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I and not a single coin of Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II has so far been discovered. This is, no doubt, a bold conclusion and goes against the view of numismatists from Laidlay to Bourdillon, but the available materials and the close examination of the coins do not warrant the contrary one.

To conclude, therefore, we may suggest the following points :—

- (a) Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh was the first Sultān of Bengal to assume the title of “*Khalifat Allāh*”.
- (b) He utilised this title as a political stunt to unite the people against his rival, Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jawnpūr.
- (c) There was probably a reaction against the assumption of such a high title by a convert resulting in the restoration of Ilyās Shāhī dynasty.
- (d) The restored Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I and his son Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh assumed stronger title, i.e., “*Khalifat Allāh bi'l-hujjat wa'l-burhān*” and thus minimised the importance of the title assumed by the convert.

- (e) Sultān Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh was the last to assume this title.
- (f) The coins hitherto ascribed to Sultān Naṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II are actually those of Sultān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I.

BRAHUIS OF QUETTA-KALAT REGION

M. ANWAR ROMAN QUETTA

VI. The Brahui History

The history of the Brahuīs centres round the State of Kalat which began to assume a shape when the Delhi Sultanate had been dismembered. Its rise synchronized with that of the Safawīs in Iran who, in a way, established a sectarian-cum-national State. The Mughuls, soon after, made a more liberal experiment in Hind-Pakistan on a much larger scale. The Brahui State was actuated by territorialism, an important stage in the evolution of nationalism.

Its early history presents an utterly confused picture till the accession of Mīr Aḥmad Khān I in 1666 A. D. There is a mass of traditions and folk-lore which have not been sifted and given a historical exactitude or even approximation. Mīr Gul Khān Naṣīr Zagar Mengal, a journalist, poet and political worker of the former Baluchistan, published his book *Tārīkh-i-Baluchistān* in two volumes, the first of which appeared in 1952 and the second in 1957. The book, though covering about 1000 pages, fell far short of expectations. Like some of the myopic European historians, to whom the world is but just an extension of Europe, Naṣīr took the State of Kalat to be the whole of Baluchistan without any reference to other important elements. A more suitable title of the book would have been *Tārīkh-i-Qalāt*. Secondly, he confined himself to a mere narration of political events and re-evaluation of certain personalities without economic, social and ideological background reducing his book to a chronicle of kings, and their courts and conquests, instead of environment, is the motive force of history. There is a tendency to over-emphasize personalities. Closely allied with this subjectivism was its

parochial outlook. He overlooked the Pathans and relegated the Baluchs to a secondary position. Lastly, the book was not well-documented. However, though it is the second attempt at writing a history of this region in Urdu and, though much of what Naṣīr has written is bound to be modified and changed, he has given a detailed account of Mīr Naṣīr Khān I. It may be pointed out that to write a connected and true history of this region, one would have to do research work and, when that is done, the result must be verified by placing them in juxtaposition with the historical events especially relating to the history of Iran and Hind-Pakistan and in the context of general historical developments. Mīr Naṣīr Khān worked under handicaps, there are some misstatements in the book.¹

The second book *Balūchistān* was written and published by Malik Ṣaleḥ Moḥammad Khān Lahri in 1955 and was an improvement upon the first one; it was fairly documented, and the Brahuīs and Baluchs were given equal treatments though the Pathans, here too, were only partially mentioned. The outlook of the author was broader and he did well in depicting this region in the wide perspective of Pakistan. But the book was unfortunately fragmentary and could not fully satisfy of an eager student. For example, Mīr Naṣīr Khān I (1750—94), by far the greatest Brahui ruler, was dismissed in five pages only whereas the *Tārīkh-i-Balūchistān*, rightly devoted about 81 pages to this great man. Then both the authors have been rather unscrupulous in quoting and translating especially from Hittu Ram and the Imperial Gazetteers of India without acknowledging their authority.

In the circumstances I have relied on two authorities: (1) Hittu Ram, the first Urdu historian of this region; he has almost reproduced Akhwaundzadah Muḥammad Ṣiddīq, the author of the still unpublished *Tārīkh-i-Balūchistān* in Persian written in 1276 A.H./1860/A.D. coming down to Mīr Mihrab Khān II and (2) Mirza Aḥmad 'Alī, the author of an unpublished book in Persian

¹ For example, Hajjaj b. Yūsuf has been called. "Caliph" (p. 13), 'the Mongol onrush began in India in 15th century' (p. 16), Mīr Ḥasan was a contemporary of Shāhjahān as well as Mirzā Kamrān, son of Babūr (p. 31 and 33), the murder of Ashraf Shah Khālī by Mīr 'Abdullah Khān (p. 61)—
Volume I.

on the Khāns of Kalat coming down to the time of Khūdādād Khān.¹

It is said that Mīr Qambarānī was the first to develop cordial relation with the Mongol rulers and, with their tacit approval or actual help, drove out the Jats from their homes in Jhālāwān district. His son, Mīr 'Umar, was confronted with the Arghūns of Qandahar.² When in 1522 Babur captured Qandahar, Shāh Beg Arghūn established himself in Upper Sind to which his son and successor, Shah Hasan Arghūn, added the Lower Sind. Akbar annexed the whole of Sind and Baluchistan in 1592 A.D.³ Due to the pre-occupations of the Arghūns, Mīr 'Umar overtook Kalat, destined to act as the nerve centre of the Brahui body politic. His victory aroused the jealousy of the Baluch leaders of Makran—Mīr Shāhak Rind, his son Mīr, Chākar Rind and Mīr Guhram Lashārī—who overran Kalat. Mīr 'Umar was killed and his wife, Mahnāz along with her infant son, Mīr Bajjar, took refuge with Khvajah Kehls of Mastung. Sometime after, the victors, having no genius for civil government, moved on to Kachhi, which had better climate and provided a vast field for their plundering raids. They left Mīr Mandā, the father-in-law of Mīr Chākar, in Kalat who was soon overpowered by a Brahui uprising engineered by Mīr Bajjar.⁴ The Jats, who had recovered their possessions in the interlude, were defeated by Mīr Bajjar in three successive battles until they ceded most of their territories were parcelled out amongst the tribes by the Mīr. As he grew old he went to Mecca for pilgrimage and on his return, as the tradition says, abdicated in favour of the tribal leaders who were invested with sovereign rights over their respective domains.⁵ The Mughul conquests had by now reached the western confines of Hind-Pakistan. Kalat was also conquered by the Mughuls but their control on this far-flung, mountainous acquisition could not be

1 These quotations occupy 60 pages and 43 pages respectively of Hittu Ram and practically cover the whole Ahmedzai history up to 1893.

2 Vide Naṣīr, pp. 16 & 17, also vide Saleh Mohammad, p. 28.

3 Elphinstone, *History of India* (edited by E. B. Cowell, 9th Ed., 1911 Reprint) footnote on p. 420 by the Editor.

4 A'ḥwāundzadah Muḥammad Ṣiddiq, quoted by Hittu Ram, p. 179.

5 Naṣīr, p. 28 (Vol. I).

strict and a great latitude had to be given to the tribal leaders; the place of the Khān, however was, taken by the Mughul governor, which the tradition, euphemistically, calls abdication. With the loss of Qandahar the Mughul hold in this region weakened and the Brahuīs, under Mīr Ibrāhīm Khān Mīrwanī and Arbabs Shams al-Din and Guhram of Dehwar tribe, joined hands against the Imperial governor. Thus after about two generation of Mughul rule, the Brahuīs regained Kalat and the Khanate was offered to Mīr Ḥasan, son of Guhrān, and brother-in-law of Mīr Ibrāhīm.¹ This must have taken place in the early 1650 in the reign of Shahjahan. Mīr Ḥasan seemed to have had no royal pretensions and, like Buhlāl Lodhi, contented himself to be considered *primus inter pares*. The pre-occupation of the Mughuls elsewhere and the decline of the Ṣafawīs allowed the Brahuīs about 16 years spell of peace in which they recouped themselves.

On the death of Mīr Ḥasan in 1666, Mīr Aḥmad Khān I Qambarānī was elected Khān. He was young, brave and energetic and could profitably use his ability in carving out a State. The period of Brahui independent State began with him. With Mīr Aḥmad also the history of Kalat assumed a clear, definite shape and its chronology could be determined. The line of Mīrwanīs or Mīrwārīs, known so after Mīr ‘Umar, gave way to Ahmedzais who have been the ruling dynasty since then. In the words of Mīr Gul Khān Naṣīr, “Mīr Ahmad was the first to rule over Kalat like a king. Throughout his reign he was fighting Barozai Afghans, Kalhoras of Sind and Mughals and extending his dominions. Extremely courageous, he enthused his tribals and gave them a zest for power. He trained them in the art of warfare and guided them on towards a bright future before his death”.²

Mīr Aḥmad Khān I was a contemporary of Emperor ‘Ālamgīr I. The Mīr seems to have been wise enough to become an ally of the Emperor and as such had a free hand to deal with the Barozai Pathans of Sibi District. However, in about 18 actions against them he was defeated in the first fifteen ; this so

1 Hittu Ram, p. 179.

2 Naṣīr, p. 32 (Vol. I).

much enraged his sister, Maī Bibū, that she led the next expedition herself and was killed. In the last two skirmishes he won complete victories on the Barozais and captured Mulla Pass, Kanakh and Chaku. He also seized Quetta-Pishin.¹

Mīr Mihrāb I continued his pro-Mughul policy and was thus engaged with Dawūd Muḥammad and Nūr Muḥammad Kalhoras of Sind, who had flouted the Mughul authority. He was killed with a bullet from his own army, though the Kalhoras were defeated and both leaders were arrested.²

Mīr Samundar re-arrested the Kalhora Chiefs who had escaped but were later pardoned on the intercession of the *Wazīr*, Akhwand Ṣaleḥ Muḥammad, in return for an annual tribute of rupees forty thousand. The Mughuls appreciated these services, and Karachi, a port of the Kalhoras, was given over to the Mīr as a compensation for the death of Mīr Mihrāb I besides an *inām* of one lac of rupees in cash. He also defeated Ṭahmāsp Beg, the Iranian general, who planned to annex western Baluchistan to Iran, but the Mīr defeated and killed him for which he was rewarded by the Mughuls and got an annual pension of 2 lac rupees.³

Mīr Aḥmad II was vain-glorious and profligate; he was soon overpowered and killed by his younger brother, Mīr ‘Abdullah Khān.

Mīr ‘Abdullāh Khān, known to the legend as Qahār Khān, was strongly imperialistic but chivalrous. He conquered Kachhi, Hurrand and Dajil in the North East; Panjgore, Kach and Bandar Abbas on the South West and Pishin and Shorawak towards the North West. This last conquest brought him into conflict with Shah Ḥusayn Khālji (1725—38) of Qandahar; he made a common cause with other Kalhoras who were smarting under their defeat in Kachhi. The combined armies converged on Quetta but the ensuing winter drove back the Kalhoras who were killed in large numbers by the tribesmen. Left alone, Khālji also withdrew with great losses. To teach the Kalhoras

1 For details see Hittu Ram, pp. 1880-1.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

a lesson, the Khān attacked them, captured Dhadar and advanced into Kachhi but was killed and the Brahui forces were defeated.¹

Mir Muhābbat was a weakling and yet asserted his authority on the Sardars who, under *Mir Lashkarī Raisānī*, revolted and placed his brother, *Mir Ahltāz*, on the *masnad*.

Mir Ahltāz proved equally unimaginative; so the Sardars reinstated *Mir Muhabbat* who was later confirmed by *Nadir Shāh*² though *Mir Ahltāz* seems to have retained some hold on the suburbs of Mastung.

In the meanwhile *Nadir Shāh Afshār* began his meteoric rise in 1722 when he was appointed *Qurchibāshī* (master of the ordnance) by *Shāh Tahmasp II* (1722—32). The latter was soon eclipsed by his own *quli* (slave) and later substituted by his infant son, 'Abbas III. On the death of 'Abbas in 1736 the *de facto* ruler became also the *de jure* sovereign of Persia. He defeated the Ghilzais, who had established themselves in Persia since 1709, and their last ruler, *Ashraf Shāh* (1725—29), was hotly pursued until he fell into the hands of the troops of *Husayn Sultān Ghilzai* of Qandahar and was killed in revenge of the death of his brother; *Shāh Maḥmūd* (1722—25), the third Ghilzai ruler of Persia.³ He also defeated the *Osmānlīs* thrice until they ceded their possessions up to *Baghdād*. Then he turned to the east where *Abdalīs* continued to be rebellious in league with *Husayn Sultān* of Qandahar. The *Abdalīs* were attacked and 'Abdullah *Khān* Brahui was asked by *Nadir Shāh* to attack *Husayn Sultān* from the south so as to disable him from helping the *Abdalīs*. The *Khān* could not comply with this due to his engagement with the *Kalhoras* in which he was killed.⁴ However, the *Abdalīs* and *Ghilzais* were defeated and Herat was captured

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 184-187; also *Mirzā Kalich Beg Faridun Beg, History of Sind*, pp. 146-47. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Balochistan* pp. 610—11.

2 Hittu Ram, p. 188.

3 Dr. L. Lockhart in his *Nadir Shah* (London, 1938) has conclusively proved that *Ashraf Shāh* was killed by the *Ghilzais* and not by *Mir 'Abdullah Khān*, *Vide* p. 45. Hittu Ram is also of the same view, *Vide* p. 749.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

in 1732. In 1736 he marched against Husayn Sulṭān to exterminate him, while Pīr Muḥammad, Beglarbeg of Herat, and Asilmās Khān alias Khān Jān were despatched to subdue Mīr Muḥabbat Khān and Mīr Ahltāz Khān who had become independent as well as hostile. Mīr Muḥabbat's forces were defeated and both commanders proceeded to Quetta from where they pressed on to Kalat. The Brahui forces were defeated a second time until the Khān shut himself up in the Mastung fort and, in consultation with Ahltāz, surrendered. Both brothers proceeded to Qandahar and submitted to Nādir Shāh who took Mīr Muḥabbat into his service and appointed him governor of Baluchistan. The mopping up operations against the Brahuīs were continued for three months or so until the whole of Baluchistan bowed before the storm.¹ Qandahar also fell. In 1739 he captured Delhi inflicting a crushing blow to the tottering Mughul Empire and took away rupees 700 million in cash and jewels besides all the territories west of the Indus from Tibet and Kashmir to Karachi.² Miyān Nūr Muḥammad Kalhora was the next to be subdued and rupees ten million worth goods were taken though he was reinstated on a much reduced territory in 1740 while Kachhi was given over to Mīr Muḥabbat Khān as a compensation for the death of Mīr 'Abdullah Khān who seems to be bound in a subordinate union with Nādir Shāh as an ally.³ Thus it is well-nigh impossible to agree with Mīr Gul Khān Naṣīr that Mīr Muḥabbat had made an object surrender to Nādir Shāh and that he was the first to open the gates of Baluchistan to outside paramountcy.⁴ He had submitted after 2 brave fights and even his father could not have dared to flout Nādir Shāh. Anyhow, after the murder of Nādir Shāh in 1747, the relations between him and his Sardars became strained. Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, who had succeeded Nādir Shāh in Afghanistan as its first national king and was the legal heir to Nādir Shāh's paramountcy over Kalat, deposed Mīr Muḥabbat and enthroned Mīr Naṣīr Khān,

1 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 157-161.

4 Naṣīr., Vol. I., pp. 78-79.

his youngest brother,¹ who had been a hostage in the Nādirī camp since 1737 and subsequently had been taken over by Aḥmad Shāh after the murder of Nādir Shāh.

Mīr Naṣīr Khān I was the most outstanding ruler of Kalāt. He founded the Brahui confederacy composed of the Brahuīs, Brahuized tribes and the non-Brahui Baluchs (and Jats) who were treated on par with the Brahuīs, though they retained their own language and culture. Centralization had been unknown to the Brahui State ever since its inception but the rights, of citizenship as discussed elsewhere, had strictly depended on four loyalties—loyalty to land, loyalty to language, loyalty to culture and loyalty towards the defensive and offensive policy of the State. These loyalties were to be co-existent and had to be accepted in toto. Naturally, these loyalties expected too much from those desirous of coming into the fold of the State and were, thus, an impediment in its expansion. It was the realization of this and the consequent relaxation of these loyalties which enabled Mīr Naṣīr Khān to expand the State to its maximum capacity and caused his popularity equally with the Brahuīs and the Baluchs. In the Kachhi district, he allowed the Rind, Magassi and Dombki Baluch tribes to retain their possessions as well as language and culture in return for loyalty to the land. This made his State more broad based and the Baluchs in Kachhi since then became a vital part of the State.

Next he turned to military organization. He divided his army into three divisions—*Dastah-i-Khāṣṣ* or *Dastah i Khān* consisting of 1750 troops, the *Dastah i Sarawān* comprising of 5160 soldiers² and the *Dastah i Jhālāwān* composed of 5700 warriors.³ The *Dastah i Khān* recruited from 8 tribes, was directly under the Khan, had a green flag and was best equipped and best kept. The Sarawān Division, composed of 10 tribal contingents, had a red flag and was commanded by Sardar Raisānī while the Jhālāwān Division, formed by 13 tribes, had a yellow flag and was commanded by Sardar Zarakzaī. In times of war the Khān's

1 Hittu Ram, pp. 191-192.

2 Sarawān District Gazetteer, Appendix VII.

3 Jhālāwān District Gazetteer, Appendix III.

Division was to be the centre while the other two Divisions acted as the left and right flanks. The Divisional Commander was called *Sar i Sarārān*; he was assisted by Sardars who were to be obeyed by the Brigade-Commanders. For example, *Dastah-i-Sarawān* under *Sar i Sarārān* Sardār Raisānī was composed of three brigades—Raisānī Brigade, *Shāhwānī* Brigade, and Bungalzai Brigade. These Brigades were sub-divided into Regiments, e.g. Raisānī Brigade included Raisānī Regiment, Kurd Regiment, Langu Regiment and Satakhai Regiment. The *Sar i Sarārān* was equal to our Major-General or Lieutenant-General, Sardar to our Brigadier and Takari to our Colonel. The Regiments were further divided into companies (*Paras*) and units (*Shalwārs*) respectively under *Mu'tabars* and *Safid Rishes*. Thus a regular hierarchy of Military officers was created. Powers similar to those of the *Khān* in relation to his own Division were exercised by *Sar-i-Sarārān* in his own Brigade and so on. The *Safid Rishes* were responsible to *Mu'tabars*, *Mu'tabars* to *Takāris*, *Takāris* to Sardār, Sardārs to *Sar i Sarārān* and these two were answerable to the *Khān*. So the *Khān* had only to deal with two persons while the *Sar-i-Sarārān* Raisānī with 10 Sardārs and *Sar-i-Sarārān* Zarakzai with 13 Sardārs and so it descended to *Safid Rishes* who was incharge of a Unit.

The system, stated above, was apparently derived from *Mughul Manṣabḍārī* system which was itself a modification of the Mongol Decimal System.¹ The number of troops required from each tribe was called *Gham i Lashkar*, whose expenses were to be defrayed from *Ghami* Lands allotted by the *Khān* for the specific purpose. One twelfth of the *Gham i Lashkar* of each Division was always to remain in the capital besides the *Khān's* Division. This was known as *Sar i Padisha*. The strength of the Army, therefore, was :

Royal Division = 1750.

San of Sarawān = 430.

San of Jhālāwān = 475.

Total = 2,655.

1 H. H. Howorth in his *History of the Mongols*, (108, 109) has explained this decimal system.

In emergencies, the Khān could muster about three times his regular army. Hittu Ram¹ has stated that his total man power was about 100,000 and Mīr Gul Khān Naīṣr says that the population of his empire was 10¹ million or even more.² Judging from the population trends of this Region, a modest and more correct estimate would be more or less 2 million out of which his maximum man power might have been 100,000.

The civil administration was modelled on Nādir Shāh's system, which he had seen in practical working for about a number of years. The *Wazīr* was in charge of civil and foreign affairs while Revenue, *Jizyah* and other miscellaneous departments were looked after by the *Wakīl*. Two *Darughahs* supervised the work of *Naiibs* of Kachhi, Sarawan, Jhālāwān and Makran. An officer, known as Shāh Ghāsī after the Nādiri term 'Eshik Aghassī' (Master of the threshold), was appointed to arrange for the graded seating of *Ṣardārs*, administer the rations (*Jirah*), muster *Gham-i-Lashkar* and *San-i-Pādishāh* in emergencies and to perform numberless other functions in the court.³ His prototype was the *Hājib* of the earlier Muslim Governments. Besides these paid officers of the Government there was a Board of companions (*Majlis-i-Muṣāhibin*) consisting of 5 members—3 Ahltazais and 2 *Sar-i-Sardārān* which acted as the inner ring of the Khanate. Then there was the *Mailis-i-Mnshāwirat* or Advisory Council composed of about 40 *Sardars*, for that was their maximum number in his time, or their representatives who were usually in the capital.⁴ This was the outer ring of his administration and decisions of national importance were taken by it. The Judicial powers were vested in the *Sardars* who had to be guided by the *Qadīs* on the lines of *Shari'ah* but there were certain clear departures from it regarding adultery and murder.⁵ The Hindu minority enjoyed freedom of conscience as well as occupation. Personally he was very religious and prayed

1 Hittu Ram, p. 272.

2 Naīṣr, p. 174 (Vol. I).

3 Hittu Ram, p. 303.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 271.

5 Hittu Ram, pp. 272-273.

regularly wherever he went. But the Khān, most probably, had no time to cement the newly conquered areas with his home dominions. He did win over the Balūchs of Kachhi as mentioned earlier but the Murri-Bugti area, Hurrand and Dajil, etc., could never be assimilated. In the case of Zikrīs of Makran, against whom he led as many as 9 expeditions,¹ he was decidedly too harsh and sometimes even brutal perhaps because they, being a religio-political community like the Sikhs, had offered him the stiffest resistance and also because he had a prejudice against those whom he considered to be heretics. Extremely generous, he was an angel to his Brahui subjects, a selfless friend for his friends, an inveterate enemy of his enemies, a terror for the recalcitrant princes and jealous of his own independence he had yet the faults of his greatness which, in most cases, were the faults of his age.

The great Khān, during his rule of half a century, fought about 25 actions. His expeditions may be classified into two categories—those which were inspired by his own Imperialistic ambitions and were confined to the present day Quetta/Kalat Region, excepting its North, and its borders and, secondly, those which he had to undertake in cooperation with Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, his patron and his son and successor, Tīmūr Shāh, often beyond his own borders. That his military organization was a marvellous success and that the Khān had been able to rally the Sardars as well as tribesmen round him was proved by the only defensive war which he successfully fought against Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1758 to thwart his intruding Imperialism.

The first series of expeditions began soon after he had re-organized his army. Las Bela, Gichkis of Panjgore, Gichkis of Kech, Kharan, Marris as well as the Talpur Balūchs of Sind felt his impact and bowed before his authority. The second series of his expeditions included participation in the third Battle of Panipat in 1761 and six other battles fought against the Sikhs of Central Panjab by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī (circa A. C. 1765). On his return he attacked and killed 'Alī Mardān Khān of Tun and Tabas on the Iranian border; Abdālron gave him Hurrand and Dajil in recognition of these victories. On the instance of Tīmūr Shāh, the successor

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VI, p. 278.

of Aḥmad Shāh, he brought Bahāwal Khān 'Abbāsī to the knees and then secured pardon for him. The Brahui-Afghān war was caused by the intervention of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī on behalf of Gichkīs of Kech (Mekran) who had been defeated by the Khān resulting in the death of Malik Dīnār Gichkī, the leader of Zikrī sect. This intervention did not allow the Khān the fruits of his victory and he withdrew in compliance with the Imperial order, but all the more determined to seize Mekran at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime Mir Ḥājī Khān son of Mir Muḥabbat Khān, revolted but was defeated and fled to Qandahār. Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī injudiciously asked for an explanation and the Khān got the impression that Abdālī wanted to reduce him to the position of a satrap and to oppose him in conquering the contiguous lands which were so vital for the safety of Kalat. So he retorted by snapping all the earlier commitments further declaring that he would brook no interference from the Shāh. This led to the attack of Abdālī on Kalat. The Brahuīs withstood the Afghāns for three days but they were pressed hard and so they moved into the fort of Kalat. This put Abdālī in a fix who, like Nādir Shāh, was not very successful in his sieges. The siege continued for 40 days and, in spite of 3 large scale charges, Brahuīs did not surrender. In the meanwhile the Marathas had driven back Timūr Shāh from the Pānjab across the Indus¹ which softened the attitude of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī towards the Khān whose position was also becoming increasingly precarious. So the negotiations were set afoot through Shāh Walī Khān Bamizai and Akhwand Muhammad Ḥayāt, leading to a treaty. According to this the Khān stopped all revenue and *Son i Padishah* to Abdālī but in foreign wars he was to supply one regiment in return for a fixed subsidy and munitions, etc. Both were to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of each other and the Shāh returned the conquered parts. Further, the Shāh gave him the title of *Beglar Begi* while the Khān recognized him as his suzerain. The treaty was further cemented by the marriage of niece of the Khān with Timūr Shāh. This treaty was respected by both powers ever after.²

1 Fräser x Tytler, *Afghanistan* (London, 1950.) p. 63.

2 Malcolm's *History of Persia* edited by Lt.-Col. M. H. Court, p. 84.

As a result of his wars the Brahui State had expanded considerably on all the four sides—on its south it became supreme in Mekran and Las Bela, on its north-west Kharan, Chagāi, Mastung, Quetta and Pishin were added; on its north-east it included Marri-Bugti area and Hurrand and Dajil up to the Punjab border and on its east it made the ever rebellious Kachhī a permanent and contented possession. This was the area directly under the Khān but his political and military influence was felt as far as Tun and Tabas in Khurāsān, and Kashmīr and Delhi in the north-east. Surely it has to be admitted that the Brahui State touched its climax under the enlightened Khān and it is no wonder that he has become the legendary hero of this region.¹ Mīr Mahmūd Khān I was the eldest son of Mīr Naṣīr Khān. He was only a child of 7, so his tutor, Akhwand Fath Muḥammad ruled as Regent, assisted by a *Majlis*. But he was weak and fond of luxury; so most of the newly added territories revolted and asserted their independence. The first English traveller, to visit the region, Eldred Pottinger, found it, in 1810, in chaos and anarchy, and the tribal leaders behaving as independent chiefs.

Mīr Mihrāb Khān II,² succeeded his father. He behaved autocratically like the great Khān without his tact and fortitude. It has been well said by Mīr Gul Khān Naṣīr that “thundering like a cloud, he rained like dew-drops.”³ In the words of Mirza Aḥmad ‘Alī “Miharab Khān was a brave and wrathful person. The policy of clever and intelligent rulers is to conduct the administration with tact and statemanship and oblige the people with kindness and benevolence. The affairs of the State can never be set right by harshness. Mihrāb Khān, on the other hand, started man slaughter”⁴ Sardār Mihr Allah Khān Raiṣānī of Sarawān and Sardar

1 Hittu Ram, quoting Akhwandzadah, pp. 192—201—See also A.W. Hughes, *The Contry of Balochistan* pp. 188—89.

2 For Mīr Mihrāb vide Hittu Ram pp. 208—233.

3 Naṣīr, Vol. I, P. 198.

4 Hittu Ram, pp. 227—28.

محراب خان شخصے شجاع و غضب ناک بود . شیوہ جا کمان بیدار بغزو
هوشیار آہست کہ بنائے کار براہ عقل و تدبیر - میگزاردند مردم راہ با لطف
و مہربانی از خود مشکور و ممنون میدارند - بہ تندی و درشتی کار حکومت
ہرگز آہست نمی آید - محراب خان بخلاف آن بنائے مردم کشی را در میان نہاد

Qādir Bakhsh Zahrī of Jhalāwān, the two most influential Sardars, were killed. The Khān played in the hands of self-aggrandizing confidants and advisers like Akhwand Faṭḥ Muḥammad Afghān, his son Mulla Muḥammad Ḥasan, Mullā 'Abd-ul-Raḥmān Irānī, Dawūd Muḥammad Khaljī, Akhwand Ṣaleḥ Muḥammad of Qandahar, his son Akhwand Muḥammad Siddiq and Sayyid Muḥammad Sharīf and these sycophants played havoc with the Brahui State. It was in this context that the Brahui State was drawn into the vortex of the mounting Anglo-Afghan tension which resulted in the first Afghan War (1837—39).

Early in the nineteenth century Lord Minto I (1807—13) had sent his missions to Ranjit Singh, the Amīrs of Sind, Shāh Shuja'-al-Mulk of Afghanistan and the Iranian Emperor, Shāh Faṭḥ 'Alī. The British, while maintaining friendship with Ranjit Singh, who was driving the steam roller of Sikh Imperialism, applied a brake in the form of the Treaty of Amritsar, to the expansion of the Sikh kingdom. Later they opposed the Sikh ruler's suggestion of partitioning Sind and Bahawalpur. Therefore, the only two outlets left for the Sikh militarism were Kashmir in the north of the possessions of the Durrānīs in the south-west. Ranjit Singh, however, seized Multan, Derajat, Kashmir and later Peshawar as well as the Afghan territories.

Shuja'al-Mulk had to leave his country as a result of an internal revolt. For the next generation, Afghanistan was enmeshed in the worst anarchy and civil war until Dost Muḥammad emerged successful and became a symbol of Afghan solidarity. Shuja' came first to Ranjit Singh and then asked the English to support him. Iran had also concluded a treaty of subordinate friendship with the British in 1809, but the Russian invasion and the unhelpful attitude of the English compelled it to acquiesce in the Treaty of Turkomanchai (1828). Henceforth Russia egged on Iran to capture Herat. Thus Afghanistan was threatened from its south-west by Iran supported by Russia while Ranjit Singh was already on its threshold, encouraged by the British. Not only this : the British and the Russians both insisted on posting their Residents in Kabul to which Dost Muḥammad was averse. He preferred British friendship but de-

mandated that the British must use their influence with Ranjit Singh to return Peshawar to him. The British, on the other hand, wanted to post their Resident without paying any heed to his wishes and they were already committed to reinstall Shah Shuja' on the throne of Kabul.¹ This led them to launch a most tortuous policy involving the violation of Sind territory, the death of Mir-Mihrāb Khān and a war against the Afghans which was politically inexpedient and morally indefensible. Afghanistan was to be attacked through Khyber and Bolan Passes. The Sikh Army was to march through Khyber guided by the son of Shuja' while the Army of the Indus under Sir Henry Pottinger was to pass through Bolan Pass led by Shuja' himself. Therefore, the necessity of tackling the Khān of Kalat arose.

Lieutenant Leech, the first Englishman to study the Brahui language and literature, was despatched to conclude an agreement with the Khān but he could not succeed. Later Sir Alexandar Burnes was sent who prevailed upon the Khān and an Agreement was achieved on 28 March, 1839, guaranteeing the sovereignty and integrity of Kalat while the Khān was to be responsible for the safe transport and provisioning of the British troops in return for Rs. 150,000 besides the expenditure on transport and provisions.² Mulla Muḥammad Ḥasan and Sayyid Muḥammad Sharīf, who were opposed to such a treaty, manoeuvred to set it at naught. They did not allow Mir Mihrāb to proceed to Quetta to meet Shuja' on the plea that he would be arrested. On his way back Sir Alexandar Burnes was looted and deprived of the copy of the Agreement and Rs. 2,000; it was given out that this was being done at the instance of the Khān. This resulted in a deadlock between the contracting parties. Both the Advisers continued their game convincing the Khān that the British were planning his destruction and assuring the British that the Khān was insincere. The game was allegedly so well-conducted that the British determined to teach the Khān a lesson at the earliest opportunity.³

1 Fraser-Tytler has admirably described the details of the impossible attitude taken by the English in his *Afghanistan*, pp. 89—99.

2 C.U. Aitchison *Treaties and Sanads* (Calcutta, 1909) Vol. XI, p. 209.

3 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VI, pp. 278—79.

In November 1839 Sir Thomas Willshire invaded Kalat. The Mīr along with other Sardars was killed in the action, but soon after his death the plot was discovered and Mulla Muhammed Ḥasan was kept as a State prisoner in Sukkur while all his property and belongings were confiscated.¹

That the British invasion, the death of Mīr Miḥrāb and the enthronement of Mīr Shāhnawāz Khān were condemnable in the strongest terms, not even the British have dared to apologize for these.² But Mīr Gul Khān Naṣīr, Malik Saleh Muhammad as well as M. S. Khān Baloch, the three recent authors, have tried to make a hero of Mīr Miḥrāb by painting his Advisers in the blackest of colours.³ That the Mīr was personally heroic, none will deny and that his Advisers played a part which was often ignoble and imperilled the State which they professed to serve, none can gainsay.

Since about the middle of the eighteenth century Kalat was under Afghan suzerainty. The suzerain of Kalat was now threatened by the British; they wanted to replace the popular ruler Dost Muḥammad Khān with Shujā 'al-Mulk, a mere lackey of the British camp. This fact was certainly known to the Khān. In these circumstances the duty of the Khān was obvious; he had to help the Afghans. It may be argued, fairly to a certain extent, that the Mīr had become so much unpopular within his own State partly due to the machinations of his Advisers but mainly due to his ill-advised policies that he could not afford to refuse such a treaty with the British, for that was the only way of saving his own position, but his action cannot be justified on political or moral grounds. What attitude was to be taken by his Advisers who happened to be Afghans? Were they to support the Khān even if he became pro-British and anti-Afghan? They did not do so. They were first opposed to the idea of a treaty as it would have jeopardized their own position. Once, however, the treaty was concluded they did everything to make it a failure.

1 A. W. Hughes, p. 205.

2 See Sir H. M. Durand, *The First Afghan War and its Causes*, pp. 227-28.

3 *Vide* pp. 237-62, Vol. I, of Naṣīr, pp. 103-6, of Saleh Mohd. & p. 95 of M. S. Khan Baloch.

They ought to have been loyal to the State which they were serving but they decided to be loyal to the old political ties between Afghanistan and Kalat rather than to Mīr Miḥrab Khān who had changed his master. They were not motivated by patriotic considerations and their conduct prior to the British penetration was totally condemnable. However, we cannot consider Mīr Miḥrab Khān to be a hero; his conduct both before and after the advent of the British was irrational and unjustifiable. The least that the Khān ought to have done was to tell the British of his existing relations with Afghanistan and to remain neutral. What he actually did, went against Afghanistan but more so against his own State which, henceforward, became a tool for British diplomacy.

Mīr Shāhnawāz Khān the protege of the British, was the son of Mīr Aḥmad Yār Khān son of Mīr Bahrām Khān son of Mīr Ḥājī Khān son of Mīr Muḥabbat Khān who had been dethroned by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1750 in favour of Mīr Naṣīr Khān. Since the deposition of Mīr Muḥabbat, his descendants, one after the other, had been struggling for the throne. So Mīr Shāhnawāz easily became the British stooge on the recommendation of Shuja' al-Mulk. As he was only 14 years old, Lieutenant Loveday (known to the Baluchs as Labdine) was appointed his Regent. The Mastung and Quetta Districts were handed over to Shuja' and Captain Beane was to act as Political Agent assisted by Sardar Muḥammad Khān Khāhswānī. Kachhi was placed within the jurisdiction of Rose Belle, the Political Agent of Western Sind, assisted by Sayyid Muḥammad Sharīf.

These administrative changes calculated to nullify the possible Brahui resistance were, however, adroitly used to undermine the British influence by Mīr Muḥammad Ḥasan, the son of Mīr Miḥrāb II who, with all his faults, had wisely named him Mīr Naṣīr Khān II, after the great Khān, and sent him to the tribes to muster their forces when the British attack was imminent. The British attacked the Khān before the prince could collect these forces but the prince, instead of being frightened after the death of his father, intensified his campaign. He was soon recognized by the tribes as the legitimate ruler and a symbol of Brahui independence. Within a few months the Zagar Mengals, Khoranis and Sarawan tribes

besides Marrīs and Kakar Afghans of Zhob Valley rose against the British authority. The revolt assumed such proportions that, in spite of the British troops Kalat fell to Mīr Naṣīr II and he was formally installed as Khān by the Sardars while Mīr Shāhnawāz Khan fled away.¹

Mīr Naṣīr Khān II enjoyed wide popular support. He immediately set to regain the lost possessions (Quetta, Mastung and Kachhi) and marched to Dhadar making his uncle, Mīr ‘Āzam Khān, his Regent at Kalat. Major Boscawen defeated him. Then the English troops, reinforced from Kandahar, dashed to Kalat under General Nott and captured it. Mīr ‘Āzam Khān fled and Colonel Stacy was appointed Political Agent of Kalat. Then the Jhalawān army drove out the British from Gandawa only to lose it soon after. Mīr Naṣīr fixed himself at Koombi and continued irregular warfare.

In view of the disasters in Afghanistan and the protracted Marrī-Bugtī rising the British could not afford a long hostility with the Khān who, however, was a bitter pill to be swallowed. Before they could come to their senses, they made two more treacherous attacks upon the Khān but he stuck to his guns and the situation in Afghānistan worsened. So an agreement was concluded with the Khān at Quetta on 3 September, 1841, recognising him as the lawful ruler, returning Sarawan and Kachhi (except Sibi) to him and promising to help him in case of outside attack while the Khān accepted Shah Shujā’ and East India Company as suzerain powers, empowered them to station their forces anywhere in Kalat in emergency and agreed to act under British advice, refrain from any engagement without their previous sanction and fix a pension for Mīr Shāhnawāz and his family.² Thus, in spite of unfavourable terms the Khān had ensured his internal independence and secured British support for maintaining it, and perhaps this was the utmost that he could achieve in the circumstances. Soon after Colonel Stacy and Mīr Naṣīr went to the Marrīs and a *Darbar* was held at Lahri. The Marrīs accepted Mīr Naṣīr as their Khān. In 1854, the first formal treaty was concluded at Khangarh (Now Jacobabad)

1 Hittu Ram, 230—33.

2 C.U. Aitchison, Vol. XI, pp. 210—11.

due to the changed political situation. The Khān accepted British paramountcy. He could have no independent political relations with any foreign government. The British could use Kalat as their military base whenever they desired. The Khān was to receive an annuity of Rs. 50,000.

The Khān had all the qualities which make an independent ruler but the British power and, more than that, British diplomacy (political bribes to the Sardars euphemistically known as 'stipends', and dealing with them over and above the Khān, etc.) had so penetrated the region that, with all his popularity and capability, he could not have done better than accepting the unfavourable terms mentioned above. In fact the right moment for resisting the British influence was in March 1839 when Mīr Mihrāb Khān II, who had always been negligible as a statesman, thought it better to conclude the fatal Kalat Agreement. Had he been able to avoid this involvement the Brahui blood which was spilled to regain the lost internal independence, might have been profitably used for maintaining external independence or at least for securing more favourable and honourable terms. As it was, Mīr Naṣīr Khān II, far superior to his father, fell a victim to his follies.¹

Mīr Khudādād Khān, a step-brother of Mīr Naṣīr followed him on the throne when he was only 16. Excepting the first 4 or 5 years, his reign was continuously disturbed by revolts of Sardars and tribes. In the words of Mirzā Aḥmad 'Alī, "Immediately after his accession great disturbance stalked Balochistan."² Personally a pious man he very much resembled his father, Mīr Mihrāb II, in policy and wished to bring the Sardars into a tight control. Both were equally unimaginative and Mīr Khudādād Khān miserably failed to understand the significance of the presence of the British and efficacy of their diplomacy.

The Sardars, as British stipendiaries, were now too proud to bow before his authority. His own uncle, Shirdil Khān, took possession of Kalat and remained in power for about one year until he was murdered. Raisānīs, Jam of Las Bela Mengals, Mīr

¹ Hughes *The Country of Balochistan*, pp. 325-36 and Hittu Ram, pp 233-35.

² *Vide* Hittu Ram, p. 234, quoting Mirzā Aḥmad 'Alī.

Azād Khān of Kharan, Sardar Tāj Muḥammad Zarakzai of Jhalāwān, Bungalzais, Kurds, Zahris, and Bezanjus all revolted one time or the other. These revolts led to reprisals on the part of the Khān in which the Sardars were arrested, even killed, and their properties, tribal lands confiscated. To crown all, the Murrīs with large bands of irregulars began looting Kalat. The affairs of Sind were controlled by Sir Henry Greene, the Political Superintendent of Upper Sind Frontier and then by Sir William Mereweather, Commissioner Upper Sind Frontier who were believers in the 'close border system' i. e. diplomatically dealing with the Khān and the Sardars subsidizing them avoiding taking sides and making the least possible interference as opposed to the Forward Policy.¹

After some time the British began to follow the course of Forward Policy. Benjamin Disraeli, great champion of British Imperialism, won a sweeping victory in the elections in 1874 and formed a ministry wedded to it. Lord Lytton, one of his personal friends and sharing his views, was sent as Governor-General of Hind-Pakistan. And thus Captain Sandeman, the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, since 1866, who was in close touch with the developments in Baluchistan, could implement the new policy in this region, Mr. Ghulām Ḥusayn Masārī Bugtī who, notwithstanding the opposition of the Sardars and their hangers-on, was able to forge a common front against the intervention at least of the Marrīs, Bugtīs and Khetrans, the tribes who directly in the jaws of this policy. He mustered about 1500 but the superior armament of the British and the support given to them by Sardars proved too strong for him; he fell fighting with 257 men; he was the first hero of the Freedom struggle in this region, the little finger which combated the mighty hand of British Imperialism. His death was a signal for the conquest of Baluchistan.²

1 The failure of the so-called close border system may be studied in Hittu Ram, Third Chapter, pp. 379—389 & pp. 433—435.

2 *Vide* my article "Ghulam Husain Masoori Bugti" in the Proceedings of First All Pakistan History Conference, Karachi 1951, pp. 361—367, translated in Urdu by Prof. Inamul Haq Kausar, Imroze, 28th Feb., 1955. It was after much painstaking that I could discover this great hero from the debris of History in 1949.

3 The first mission has been dealt by Hittu Ram, Ch. III, pp. 390—423 & its results pp. 423—425. For the second mission see pp. 435—507.

Captain Sandeman started on his first mission³ to Kalat on 19 November, 1875, and covered about 724 miles in 71 days. The Captain was not authorised to make any commitments, so the mission was bound to be a political failure but it did serve a fact-finding agency. Within a few months he conducted a second mission duly empowered by the Government of India to conclude a treaty; on 13 July, 1876, the much boosted Mastung Settlement¹ was signed. According to this the Treaty of 1854 was renewed. The Khān was to have no independent foreign relations, a permanent British garrison was to be posted in Kalat the Khān was to send a representative to the Government of India, the British were to be the sole arbiters in the mutual disputes between the Khān and the Sardars, the projected Railway Line and Telegraph Line were to be protected in the best interests of the two Governments and the Khān was to receive Rs. 100,000 annuity besides 25,000 for the construction of more out-posts and safety, of the caravan routes and means of communications. By another treaty, the Quetta District was leased out to the British from 1st April, 1883, onwards for 25,000 rupees per annum. The trade rights of the Khān with Afghanistan and India were also transferred to the British for another sum of 30,000 rupees per annum²

In 1893 the Khān claimed to be attacked by his *Mastufi* Faqir Muḥammad and others and even suspected the complicity of the British; so he was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Mīr Maḥmūd Khān II, a more pliable person.

Mīr Maḥmūd II was installed with Qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn of Afghanistan as his political adviser. It was evident that no Khān could now think of steering clear of the British influence especially one who had ascended the throne with the British support. Therefore Mīr Maḥmūd completely identified himself with the British interests and consequently received the warmest cooperation from the Government of India. Revolts of Mekran, Jhālāwān and partisans of his brother, Mīr 'Āzam Jān, were successfully crushed due to this cooperation. But the English would never give such

1 C. U. Aitchison, Vol. XI, pp. 215—17.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 217—18

an unstinted support without a high price. In July 1899 a treaty was concluded between the Khān and the British by which Nushki District was leased out in perpetuity for Rs. 9,000 per annum.¹ Another treaty in 1903 handed over Niabat Naṣīrābād in perpetuity for Rs. 1,15,000.²

On 31 July, 1912, K. B. (later Sir) Mīr Shams Shāh took over charge from Qaḍī Jalāl al-Dīn; subsequently he was made the Premier of Kalat State. Moderate reforms were introduced like the establishment of the State Treasury with its branches at Mastung, Khuzdar, Zahri, Surab, Mashkai etc.; a veterinary hospital was opened in Kalat; Kalat was connected with Surab, Panjgore and Wad by road and some new schools were opened. During the first World War the Khān contributed Rs. 10,000 in cash and an aeroplane costing Rs. 33,750 towards the War Relief Fund.

Thus apparently the Khān seemed to be well in control of Kalat and his policy seemed to be going well. But Kalat, though surrounded by forbidding mountains and cut off from the mainland, had yet some vital links, often invisible to the self-centered Khān and his overbearing advisers as well as to his unimaginative alien masters. The religious tie which bound the State with its west and east was one such link. The emigration from and immigration into the State, was another. These links came to the forefront and had their full play. The dismemberment of Turkey, the desecration of the Holy Places, the nationalist agitation and the Khilafat Movement in Hind-Pakistan, the authoritarian policies of Shams Shāh, the leasing out of the fertile and strategic areas by the impotent Khān all combined to instil a new spirit amongst the Brahuis and Baluchs of Kalat.

Nawab Khān Muḥammad Khān Zarakzai of Jhālawān, Sardar Nural-Dīn Mengal, Shāhbāz Khān Gurgnārī and Sardar Sulṭān Muḥammad revolted in 1915 against the subservient policy of the Khān. They were helped by a great heroic personality, Nura Mengal, who was actuated by highly patriotic feelings in line with

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 224—25.

² Sibi District Gazetteer edited by Major A. McConghey, (Bombay 1907,) pp. 374—376.

the leftist wing of Hind-Pakistani freedom fighters. The revolt was suppressed mostly by the English officers including General Dyer ; Nūrā Mengal was arrested and handed over to the British by the Nawab of Kharan in December, 1917. No sooner had this movement been cowed down than the overflowing ferment of the Brahui inner world found another outlet for its forcible expression. A religious movement was started to protest against the British aggressions in the Middle East especially Iraq. This was also crushed, 47 workers were killed and 91 arrested. Sardar Nūr al-Dīn Mengal and Sardar Shahbāz Khān Gurgnārī, who had thrown their lot with them, could not be replaced on account of the opposition of the tribals. They had to be retained and reinstated.¹ The smouldering continued in the State until it was personified in Nawābzādah Yūsuf 'Alī Khān 'Azīz Magassī (1908—35) who waged a crusade against the authoritarianism of Shams Shāh. The latter knighted in 1919, behaved like a dictator especially after 1924 when the Khān had lost his eyesight. In his *Shams Gardi* Yūsuf 'Alī Khān exposed the tyranny of Sir Shams Shāh. He also held 'All India Baloch Conference and organized the Magassi Hijrat to Sind.² On the death of the Khān in 1931, Mīr 'Azam Jān, his brother, succeeded him and with his accession the State seemed to return to its normal.

Mīr 'Azam Jān, the third son, of Mīr Sir Khudādād Khān, favourably responded to the movement of Yūsuf 'Alī Magassi who was demanding social, economic and political reforms and was in touch with the patriotic elements of the Panjab and Sind. The Nawābzādah had also organized the large scale migration of Magassis into Sind in the wake of the one organised by Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī Jawhar into Afghanistan. Sir Shams Shāh, who had made himself extremely unpopular and who had never been on good terms with Mīr 'Azam Jān, was, therefore, replaced by Khan Bahadur Sardar Gul Muḥammad Khān, with about 18 years

1 Vide Saleh Mohd., "*Balochistan*", pp. 150—152 as well as Balochistan Administration Reports of 1916-17 and 1917-18, pp. 120 and 143 respectively.

2 Vide my article "Nawabzada Yusuf Ali Khan Aziz Magassi" in *Bolan*, Govt. College, Quetta, Magazine, 1955, and translated by Inam Kausar and published in *Imroze*, 2nd and 9th Feb., 1958.

administrative experience of this region as Premier.¹ Nawābzādah Yūsuf 'Alī Khān was made the *Tunāndār* of Magassis in place of his elder brother, Sardar Gul Muḥammad Zūb, who was more of a poet and mystic than an administrator. The Magassis gradually returned to their homes.

He appointed second son, Mīr Aḥmad Yār Khān to the governorship of Kalat while K. B. Ḥājī Karam Khān Kānsī was allowed to continue as Vice-Premier. K. B. Mirzā Shir Muḥammad Khān was appointed Deputy Minister. Lala Ganpat Rai was retained as Audit Officer, Kalat, while Khwājah Fīrūzal-Dīn Anṣārī was appointed the Revenue Officer.²

His reforms included his free access to the people, opening of a number of schools and dispensaries, bestowal of *Taqawi* loans upon the people for the first time in the State and permanent stationing of the Premier's Secretariat in Kalat instead of Quetta. Besides, the State Council was expanded and *bigar* or wageless labour, which had been an established privilege of the Khanate since centuries, was unconditionally abolished. The restrictions placed on the export of agricultural produce and other trade articles, were abrogated and the Khān did his best to ameliorate the condition of the people of Kachhi who had been hard hit due to a mishandling of the means of irrigation.³ Zealous attention was also devoted to the development of Pasni as a port.

Personally the Khān was an extremely religious man and possessed the qualities of mercy, justice, self-sacrifice and restraint. He was also gifted with a power of imagination which enabled him to be in tune with the spirit of times. He was a good horseman and was characterized by bold demeanour. He died in his 64th year.

Mīr Aḥmad Yār Khān succeeded his father in 1933. On 28 March, 1948, the Khān signed the Instrument of Accession with Pakistan which had already been signed by Kharan, Las Bela and Meakran rulers. On 12 April, 1952, all these States were formed

1 A sketch of his career may be found in *Yādgar-i-Tājpūshī i Kalat* edited by Maulawī Dīn Muḥammad, Lahore, 1932, 116-117.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

3 "Yadgar-e-Taiposhi-e-Kalat" pp. 53, 71-72.

into Baluchistan States Union (B.S.U.) under the presidentship of the Khān. On 14 October, 1955, West Pakistan was made one administrative unit and the States Union was named Kalat Division *plus* Chagai district of Quetta Division with a total population of 5,74,159. Kalat is the largest Division of West Pakistan in area but in population it is the last but one.

The Khān was faced with two-fold problem a First, how he could help in the economic development of Kalatis which had already been taken in hand by the Government and whether could be able to persuade himself to make sacrifices. Secondly, could he identify himself with the larger interests of the country. Such occasions are rare, very rare, in the History of Nations and also of the individuals; those, who can take a clue from the spirit of times to tackle them, are sure to achieve fame. But in 1958 the Khān, just back from Europe, became obsessed with the idea of the political resuscitation of his ancestral State. He substituted the Pakistan Flag on Miri by his own family flag on 26 September, refused to see the President of Pakistan and behaved independently. This led to his arrest on 6 October. M. S. Khān Baloch has well summed up the history of the State : "Naseer I united all, Naseer II endeavoured to maintain it, Khudād Khan fought for the whole of his life to organise a government. Mahmud Khan II prepared the coffin for the state and Ahmed Yar. . . buried all and the glory and vanity of his line and race expired." ¹

1 M S. Khan Baloch, *History of Baloch Race and Balochistan* pp, 125—26.

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